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# **Late Antique Gold Glass in the British Museum**

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Late Antique Gold Glass in the British Museum

Summary

The British Museum holds one of the largest and most important collections of Late Antique gold glasses in the world, numbering over fifty pieces. However, the collection has never been fully examined or analysed and the standard reference works on the medium are well over 100 years old. This thesis uses the British Museum collection to offer a new and in-depth case study of gold glass which reconsiders the traditional but untested set of interpretations that have been in circulation since the mid-nineteenth century and before.

Chapter One examines the history of gold glass scholarship from the late sixteenth century up until the present day. This serves to demonstrate where many of the frequently repeated assumptions regarding gold glass have their roots. Chapter Two gives a brief account of scholarship focusing on the British Museum collection. It then moves on to examine in detail the formation of the collection itself in the context of changing nineteenth-century attitudes to Late Antique art. Chapter Three for the first time defines the various sub-types of gold glass identifiable in the British Museum collection and incorporates a discussion of the first significant program of scientific analysis to be carried out on the medium. Chapter Four concentrates on the manufacture of gold glass and includes a detailed program of experimental reproduction. Chapters Five to Eight discuss in detail the range of iconography appearing on the gold glasses in the British Museum collection, reflective of the medium as a whole. Lastly, after examining the pattern of gold glass distribution and context, Chapter Nine draws together the preceding analysis to explore the possible workshop identity and chronology. The final Chapter concludes as to the function of gold glass in Late Antiquity.

**Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature.....

## ***Preface and acknowledgements***

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## Introduction

Dated generally to the fourth century AD and bearing well-preserved depictions of recognizable, often Christian, subjects executed in gold leaf, the varied medium known generally as ‘gold glass’ has attracted the attention of scholars and collectors since the first examples began to be recovered from the catacombs of Rome in the late sixteenth century. The British Museum holds one of the largest and most important collections of Late Antique gold glasses in the world, numbering over fifty pieces, and is surpassed in size only by the collection of the Vatican Museum in Rome. Although a select number of objects from the British Museum have been exhibited on numerous occasions, the collection as a whole has only been the subject of two catalogues résumés: by O.M. Dalton in 1901 and C.R. Morey in 1959. Both of these were incomplete. Gold glass as a medium has never been fully examined or analysed, and the core reference works that do exist are all over 100 years old (e.g. Vopel 1899 and Garrucci 1858). This thesis will address this, using the British Museum collection for an in-depth case study of Late Antique gold glass. The detailed examination of the British Museum’s collection of gold glass is combined with the careful study of a wide range of scholarship concerning Late Antique images, archaeological sites and cultural expression. It also draws upon the results of the scientific analysis of the British Museum gold glasses, undertaken as part of this project, to provide a detailed overview of the medium as a whole.

Chapter One of this thesis examines in detail for the first time the history of gold glass scholarship from its inception in the late sixteenth century up until the present day. This serves to demonstrate where many of the frequently repeated assumptions occurring in very recent literature regarding gold glass have their roots. The validity of these assumptions is then assessed in the following chapters. Chapter Two provides a brief account of scholarship focusing on the British Museum collection of gold glass. The British Museum collection of gold glass was formed during the late nineteenth century and the exact dates of acquisition are recorded for the vast majority of the objects. Chapter Two then moves on to examine in detail the formation of the collection itself in the context of changing nineteenth-century attitudes to Late

Antique art. Appendix 1 constitutes a fully illustrated catalogue of the British Museum collection of gold glass with each object presented in order of acquisition, chronologically by museum benefactor. Specific gold glasses in the collection are referred to in the thesis by their Appendix 1 catalogue number, highlighted in bold throughout the text.

Gold glass subtypes are defined in this thesis according to technique. 'Brushed technique' gold glasses take the form of highly naturalistic portrait medallions with cobalt blue backings. They are termed as such because the delicate incisions in the gold leaf forming the image enclosed between the two layers of glass are produced with gem-cutters' precision apparently simulating brushstrokes. The 'gilt-glass trail technique' constitutes the bases of vessels with a gold leaf covered glass trail inscription sandwiched between two layers of colourless glass. Gold glasses produced in the 'cut and incised technique', often depicting Christian related imagery, constitute the most numerous and well known category, and can be further divided into three distinct types. In each instance, the image is literally cut and incised into the gold leaf. The most common type take the form of vessel bases, sandwiching an image cut and incised from a sheet gold leaf between a glass base-disc and an overlaying colourless layer of glass forming the vessel bowl. These I will refer to as 'cut and incised technique vessel bases'. The second type are referred to as 'diminutive medallions', and, employing the same technique of design incision as the vessel bases, constitute small coloured glass blobs applied to the wall of a larger vessel sandwiching the design between the coloured backing and the outside of the colourless glass vessel wall making the design visible when viewed from the inside. The final type, identified in this thesis for the first time, is referred to as 'gilt-glass plaques'. Again, the technique of design incision into the gold leaf overlaying a single layer of colourless glass is the same; however, in this instance the image is not overlain by a second protecting glass layer and the objects did not constitute vessels in any form. Chapter Three for the first time clearly defines the various gold glass subtypes and the respective forms recognizable in the British Museum collection. Chapter Three also incorporates a detailed discussion of the first large-scale scientific analysis of gold glass which has

been carried out as part of this project, and as such constitutes a complete morphological and compositional overview of the medium.

Based on the morphological and compositional data presented in Chapter Three, Chapter Four concentrates on gold glass production methodology. The evidence of past attempts at gold glass reproductions, including eighteenth-century and later fakes and forgeries, as well as the historicizing reproductions of gold glass produced in the late nineteenth century in the British Museum collection are examined in detail. Alongside an analysis of surviving medieval accounts of the simultaneous working of glass and gold leaf, this provides the basis for a detailed program of experimental reproduction. This constitutes the most extensive examination of gold glass production methodology hitherto undertaken, and aptly demonstrates the value of practical experimentation above the more common accounts written by those with little or no practical experience of glass working. The results form the basis of discussion concerning the perceived material value of gold glass in Late Antiquity.

Chapters Five to Eight discuss in detail the range of iconography appearing on gold glasses in the British Museum collection, reflective of the medium as a whole, in the context of other contemporary media. Chapter Five focuses on portraits and portrait-style depictions of secular people and groups, often with Christian connotations, in gold glass, whilst Chapter Six provides an analysis of the portrait-style depictions of Christian saints. Chapter Seven discusses the range of Biblical episodes depicted on gold glasses in the British Museum collection. Often mistakenly referred to as 'Christian' gold glass in the literature and other scholarly circles, Chapter Eight provides the first in-depth account of the lesser known subjects to be depicted in gold glass, including distinctly Jewish and pagan images, inscriptions unaccompanied by visual embellishment and purely secular scenes.

Based on an extensive literature review, the data from which is presented in Appendix 2, Chapter Nine provides an up-to-date discussion of distribution and context, effectively demonstrating that find-spots of gold glass are in no way restricted to the catacombs of Rome and the environs of Cologne as is usually stated. Chapter Nine proceeds to draw together all of the preceding analysis in order to radically update the

current understanding of gold glass workshop identity. It continues to use the conclusions drawn to assign the various gold glass subtypes identified in Chapter Three into distinct chronological epochs lasting perhaps only a generation each. The final chapter provides an integrated analysis of the possible functions of gold glass in Late Antiquity before drawing together the general conclusions from the thesis as a whole.

## **Chapter 1: A history of gold glass scholarship**

Late Antique gold glass began to attract antiquarian attention in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. This occurred at the same time as the rediscovery and large-scale exploration of the catacombs of Rome, from where the majority of gold glass was initially recovered. In order to understand the origins of current widely-held assumptions about gold glass, this chapter provides for the first time an overview and history of Late Antique gold glass collecting and scholarship from the sixteenth century onwards and charts the development of relevant principal texts and interpretive theories. This serves to demonstrate where many of the present day theories regarding gold glass have their roots. The validity of these theories will be assessed later in the thesis. The chapter is divided into five subsections, treated chronologically and focussing upon key individuals. These constitute the 'later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', 'Buonarroti and the eighteenth century', and, 'the nineteenth century and the work of Garrucci and Vopel'. The twentieth century is divided into two. 'The early twentieth century up to and including Morey (1959)' is examined first, followed by 'gold glass scholarship in the wake of Morey, from 1960 to the present'. Gold glass scholarship relating chiefly to the British Museum collection is presented separately in Chapter Two.

### **The later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries**

In laying the foundations of Christian archaeology, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Italian aristocrat and antiquary, Antonio Bosio, was the first individual to apply a scholarly methodology to the study of the Roman catacombs. Published posthumously in 1632-4, Bosio's '*Roma Sotterranea*', edited by the Oratorian Priest Giovanni Severano, included illustrations of five cut and incised gold leaf gold glasses recovered during his catacomb explorations (Bosio 1632-4, pp. 126, 197, 509). These he reported as having been found embedded into the plaster sealing individual loculi (tomb niches). He interpreted them as grave markers. This interpretation has been repeated, almost verbatim by subsequent scholars up to and



including the present day (e.g. Stern 2001, p. 139). The 1659 publication of '*Roma Subterranea Novissima*' by the antiquarian Paolo Aringhi included a further two examples of gold glass (Aringhi 1659, p. 377).

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, thirty-four gold glasses were illustrated in colour and to an unparalleled standard in the latter portion of the '*Museo Cartaceo*', or '*Paper Museum*', of Cassiano dal Pozzo. The sections including the gold glasses were compiled by Carlo Antonio in the 1670-80s (Osborne & Claridge 1998, pp. 10, 199-255). The Italian priest and scholar Raffaele Fabretti published two gold glasses from his own collection in his '*De columna Traiani*' of 1683 (Fabretti 1683, p. 340), and, in his '*Inscriptiones antiquarum*' of 1699 (Fabretti 1699, p. 593), he published the inscriptions from three more. Fabretti's 1699 volume was the first published work to recognise that many, if not all, cut and incised gold glasses had once served as vessel bases, rather than as '*vetri rotondi*', or roundels purpose-made as grave markers, as Bosio (Bosio 1632-4, p. 126) had initially described them.

Two gold glasses were also included in the 1691 publication of the '*Sacra historica disquisitio*' of Giovanni Giustini Ciampini (Ciampini 1691, pp. 16-23). Interested in gold glass iconography, however, Ciampini (Ciampini 1691, p. 16) illustrated only the gold leaf depictions, and not the surrounding glass fragments. Seventeenth-century published accounts of individual gold glasses made little real comment regarding the provenance of their subjects. At the very most, the catacomb from which they were prised from the plaster walls was noted; attention was instead directed towards epigraphy and the identification of the principally Christian iconographic subject matter.

Whilst published examples of gold glass began only to appear in the early seventeenth centuries, these accounts do inadvertently reveal that the collection of gold glass fragments, principally by Papal dignitaries and a small number of Italian aristocrats, had begun in the later years of the preceding century. Among Bosio's published glasses was an example which Cardinal Fulvio Orsini had acquired from the '*Orazio della Valle*' collection, reportedly in the later part of the sixteenth century (Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. VII). Three of the glasses published by Aringhi were purportedly from a collection

formed during the same period belonging to the Marchesa Duglioli Cristina Angelelli, and said to have been recovered from the Catacomb of Priscilla on the via Salaria (Aringhi 1659 vol. 2, p. 122), as indeed was a further example, also published by Aringhi (Aringhi 1659 vol. 2, p. 122), in the collection of Francesco Gualdi.

The scholarly approach of Bosio concerning the Catacombs and the gold glass found therein was regrettably not followed by his immediate successors. During the latter half of the sixteenth century and later, the catacombs became the object of systematic plundering by groups known as ‘corpusestantari’. Corpusestantari acted principally on commission from members of the Papal hierarchy (Ferretto 1942, pp. 201-268; Testini 1966, pp. 21-26), regulated, but in fact institutionalised by Pontifical Decree in 1688 (De Rossi-Ferrua 1944, pp. XVIII-XIX; Nicolai 2002, p. 12).

In the second half of the seventeenth century, principally, one presumes, through commissions granted to the corpusestantari, significantly large gold glass collections were formed by high-ranking Papal dignitaries. Cardinal Flavio Chigi expanded upon an already celebrated gold glass collection started by his uncle Pope Alexander VII (1599-1667). Cardinal Gaspare Carpegna, responsible for Relics and Catacombs, compiled an even larger collection during his forty years in office (1674-1714). A small collection was also made by Fabretti, Carpegna’s superintendent of Catacombs between 1687-9. Valued almost exclusively for the Christian iconography many of the glasses bore, or were mistakenly interpreted as having (e.g. Ciampini 1691, p. 16), few in these collections were assigned find spots.

### **Buonarruoti and the eighteenth century**

The addition of sizable numbers of gold glass to growing private collections, initially still of high ranking Papal officials, continued throughout the eighteenth century. The sheer number of examples recovered, however, prompted an entire monograph to be published upon the subject. The papal official, Filippo Buonarruoti’s substantial volume of 1716 featured seventy-two illustrated gold glasses, fourteen of which were previously unpublished. These were taken predominantly from the Carpegna collection, but also included examples from the collections of Carpegna’s later

superintendent of catacombs Marcantonio Boldetti, and from Fabretti and Chigi, and also included some in Buonarruoti's own possession.

Still interpreting gold glasses as grave markers, Buonarruoti's monograph for the first time did not solely concern itself with the translation of inscriptions and simple iconographic identifications. Instead, it provided a comprehensive account of the subject as realised at the time, which, in many basic respects of description and observation, has not been bettered to the present day. Although the majority of gold glasses illustrated bore distinctly Christian iconography, Buonarruoti also included examples with overtly Jewish (e.g. Buonarruoti 1716, pl. II.5 and II.1-2), pagan and mythological (e.g. Buonarruoti 1716, pl. XXVII.2) and secular sports (Buonarruoti 1716, pl. XXVII.1) imagery. Buonarruoti also illustrated numerous examples of cut and incised gold glass diminutive medallions with green and blue glass backings. Now known to have been in error, he made the first attempt to define the chronological range of gold glass production (Buonarruoti 1716, p. 14). Based on his understanding of the repertoire of gold glass imagery and the orthography of the inscriptions, he placed gold glass in the latter third century and prior to the persecutions of Diocletian.

In 1720, Marcantonio Boldetti published another monograph with a large section devoted to gold glass and illustrating a further twenty-eight previously unpublished glasses (Boldetti 1720, pp. 191-2, 194, 197, 200-2, 205, 208, 212, 216). In contrast to that of Buonarruoti, Boldetti's work has been branded as comparatively naive (e.g. by Dalton 1901a, p. 253; Osborne & Claridge 1998, p. 199). Nevertheless, Boldetti did recognise that gold glass roundels initially formed the bases of vessels, and he illustrated a near complete example (Boldetti 1720, p. 191, cap. XXXIX; reproduced in this thesis as Figure 9) taking the form of a shallow bowl, which he laments, was broken in his eagerness to remove it from the catacomb wall. He furthermore erroneously suggested that cut and incised gold glass diminutive medallions once formed the bases of very small vessels.

As vessels rather than purpose produced roundels, Boldetti surmised that gold glasses had not been intended to be reduced to their decorated roundels for insertion into the catacomb walls. Instead, based on the prolific occurrence of overtly Christian

iconography depicted upon the base, Boldetti argued for a specific sacramental function for gold glass vessels in the form of the agape, the meal taken at the grave of the deceased, after which the used vessel would be secured into the wet plaster of the recently secured loculus (Boldetti 1720, pp. 188-91). Boldetti's work was also the first to provide an interpretive account in the context of other objects such as coins, leaves, toys and items of jewellery (for recent accounts of these associated objects see: Salvetti 1978, pp. 103-130; De Santis 1994, pp. 23-51). These, along with gold glass, he interpreted as grave ornamentation and signs of affection, rather than purely grave markers as his predecessors had done.

The most significant change to the formation of private antiquarian collections including examples of gold glass was made in 1744 by Pope Benedict XIV, when he purchased the celebrated gold glass collection of Cardinal Carpegna in its entirety (Baumgarten 1912, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15286a.htm> [accessed 4 March 2010]). In transferring the collection to the Vatican Library, Pope Benedict laid the earliest foundations of the Vatican Museo Cristiano, to which both he and following pontiffs later added more examples of gold glass and other antiquities from the personal collections of other Papal dignitaries. The formation of this museum effectively marked the end of antiquities collections formed independently by Papal dignitaries; instead these passed directly into the Museo Cristiano.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, gold glasses recovered from the catacombs began more and more to enter the private collections of the Italian and other continental aristocracies. This appears in accordance with the growing popularity of the Grand Tour and was facilitated by the virtually unregulated activities and dispersal of objects from the catacombs by the *corpussantari*. Gold glasses appear published as part of larger works and catalogues of the collections of specific individuals. Notable amongst these non-Papal early collectors was the French Comte de Caylus, whose gold glass collection was published in volume three (Caylus 1759, pp. 193-205) of his six volume '*Recueil d'antiquités*' (1756-1767). Although aptly demonstrating the interest in gold glass by early aristocratic participants in the grand tour, Caylus' account of gold glass differs little in style and content from the accounts published before him. Caylus specifically notes, however, that at the time of

publication, dealers in Rome were selling faked gold glass imitations, which they were passing off to tourists as genuine antiquities (Caylus 1959, p. 195).

Significantly, in 1764, the first gold glass to be reported as found outside the Catacombs was illustrated by D'Orville, in his posthumously published account of antiquities from Sicily (D'Orville 1764, p. 123A; reproduced by Pillinger 1984, pl. 25, fig. 56). Of the eleven pieces presented by D'Orville, ten of them are clear forgeries. However, a single piece, the smallest of those presented, is almost certainly genuine. Depicting 'Christ and the Miracle of Cana', and taking the form of a diminutive medallion, it is paralleled nearly exactly in the Vatican collections (inv. no. 670 (ex-493), illustrated by Morey 1959, pl. XXI, no. 160), and on cut and incised vessel bases in the Museo Oliveriano in Pesaro (Morey 1959, pl. XXVIII, no. 285) and Vatican (inv. no. 446; Morey 1959, pl. XII, no. 73). Not having been recovered from the catacombs alongside all other known gold glasses at that time, the piece was mistakenly branded as a forgery by contemporary eighteenth-century and later scholars alongside those larger more obvious examples with which it was presented. To my knowledge, no forgeries of gold glass diminutive medallions have ever been identified, and the piece was correctly published as genuine much later by Dalton in 1901 (Dalton 1901a, p. 251).

### **The nineteenth century and the work of Garrucci and Vopel**

In the first half of the nineteenth century, individual examples of gold glass continued to be published in largely descriptive terms in catalogues of private collections and general accounts of Christian iconography and objects associated with the catacombs. Some of the more notable works include those of D'Agincourt (1823) and Perret (1851,) published in French, and Röstel (1830), published in German, demonstrating an increasing awareness and interest in gold glass outside of Italy in accordance with the rising popularity of the Grand Tour.

In 1858, the Jesuit Father, Raffaele Garrucci, published the first major monograph entirely devoted to gold glass since that of Boldetti in 1720. In the same year, a few months prior to the first printing, Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman lectured on gold glass in

Ireland. Wiseman drew heavily upon Garrucci's then unpublished notes. The following year, the complete set of Wiseman's sermons appeared in a published volume. The substantial section dedicated to gold glass with the unassuming title of 'Lecture in the rotundo' (Wiseman 1859, pp. 164-215) constituted the first scholarly account of gold glass to appear in English. Nevertheless, it has been largely overlooked by subsequent scholars, both because of its inconspicuous title and because it was entirely based on and thus immediately superseded by Garrucci's (1858) highly detailed work.

The first 1858 edition of Garrucci's '*Vetri ornate di figure in oro*' marked the earliest systematic and wide-ranging scholarly account of gold glass to appear in print, illustrating 340 examples in the form of line drawings to a far higher degree of accuracy than hitherto seen. An updated interpretation of the glasses was published in 1862 in response to Cavedoni's 1859 monograph on the same subject. The volume was greatly expanded in a second edition of 1864, cataloguing a further 40 gold glasses. Each entry was accompanied by all available contextual information, and further arranged into loose groupings of iconographical subject matter.

Garrucci's groupings highlighted the overwhelming 'Christian' nature of surviving gold glass iconography. Principal amongst these were the paired portraits of both secular figures and saints crowned simultaneously by a central figure of Christ and instances of Old and New Testament Biblical scenic representation. However, Garrucci also incorporated increased numbers of glasses with unmistakably Jewish and pagan or mythic iconography, as well as comparatively sizable numbers of glasses with purely secular iconography. Predominant amongst these were images of recreational and sporting events, notably victorious charioteers, but also depictions of boxing matches and a single example depicting what was interpreted as an actor. Examples apparently illustrating professions and scenes of domestic life, including breast feeding and the education of children also featured, albeit to a lesser extent (e.g. Garrucci 1858, pls. XXXII.1 & XXXII.2 respectively). Despite the highly diverse nature of gold glass iconography, however, Garrucci nevertheless concluded gold glass production to have been restricted only to Christian communities (Garrucci 1864).

Although Garrucci does not discuss technique specifically, he did, inadvertently, provide the first detailed description of brushed technique sapphire-blue-backed portrait medallions. However, he dismissed them all, including the now celebrated Brescia medallion (Morey 1959, p. 42, pl. XXV, no. 237), as fakes and forgeries of the kind noted in the previous century by Caylus (Caylus 1759, p. 95). We now know this to have been in error, and the early twentieth-century scholarship and archaeological discoveries establishing the brushed technique portrait medallions as unequivocally genuine are discussed under the relevant subheading below.

Garrucci's account, like those that had preceded it, placed special emphasis upon the description and identification of gold glass iconography. In contrast to those before him, however, he also made some attempt to describe morphological variation between gold glass vessel types. Illustrated by two profile illustrations (Garrucci 1858, pl. 39.8a-b), Garrucci differentiated between cut and incised gold glasses comprising of two layers of glass, and those with three. In the case of the latter, the gold leaf appeared fused between the middle and lowermost glass layers in every instance. The lowest glass layer of both two and three layer examples took the form of a pad base, a disc of glass with manipulated 'downturned' edges forming, in most examples, an extremely low base ring.

In addition to his descriptive material, Garrucci included a detailed interpretive account of chronology and function which has been heavily relied upon by all subsequent scholars up to and including the present day. Responding to the work of Buonarruoti (Buonarruoti 1716), Garrucci argued for a fourth-century date, principally earlier than the reign of the Emperor Theodosius (c. 380 AD), for gold glass (Garrucci 1858, p. 9). This conclusion was based, like preceding discussions, on iconographic style and orthography. In his short paper of 1862 and the second edition of 1864, Garrucci countered the re-assignment of a third-century date for gold glass by his contemporary, Cavedoni (Cavedoni 1859, p. 164), highlighting the depiction of people on gold glass whom he identified with those martyred during the early fourth-century persecutions of Diocletian (Garrucci 1864, pp. 8-9).

Just prior to Garrucci's volumes, in 1851 Pope Pius IX established the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra (Ferrua 1968, pp. 251-278), charged with the protection of the catacombs and the objects recovered from them. This commission instigated the first real process of scientific catacomb exploration for more than two hundred years, bringing the activities of the *corpussantari* to a close. As a result, and published in three volumes in 1864, 1867 and 1877, Giovanni Battista de Rossi's 'La Roma sotterranea cristiana' constituted the first highly methodological survey of the catacombs since that of Bosio. Detailed accounts of cut and incised gold glass discovered by Rossi were included, importantly described in situ. Rossi further supplemented these discoveries with a number of scholarly articles concerning gold glass (1882a; 1882b; 1884). In contrast to Garrucci, but based upon the same evidence, he dated cut and incised gold glasses between the mid-third and early fourth century.

De Rossi continued to suggest that glasses bearing the portraits of hagiographic personages were used for the commemoration of the martyrs, particularly of Saints Peter and Paul, whom he highlighted as occurring together most frequently. Garrucci supported this hypothesis with the passage from St Augustine in praise of his mother, St Monica (*Confessions* 6.2). Augustine states that Monica carried the self-same cup for use at multiple shrines to different martyrs, implying that some took more. By extension, Garrucci argued that perhaps, like many gold glasses, these cups bore effigies of the particular martyrs to be commemorated (Garrucci 1864, p. XV; de Rossi, quoted in Northcote & Brownlow 1879, vol. 2, p. 309). This conclusion again has been widely and near-unquestioningly accepted by scholars up to and including the present day (e.g. Auth 1979, p. 37; Grig 2004, p. 216).

During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the time of Garrucci and Rossi's publications, gold glass began for the first time to be excavated in relative profusion outside Rome, principally in Cologne and the Rhine valley. These pieces were published in a series of articles by E. Aus'm Weerth (1864; 1878; 1881), and included the diminutive medallion studded bowl, known as the St Severin bowl after the cemetery from which it was excavated. The bowl is now part of the British Museum collection, catalogued in Appendix 1 as number **39**. The discovery of the St Severin bowl meant that gold glass diminutive medallions were identified henceforth as individual 'studs'



from similar vessels. This repudiated the long-held assumption that they formed the bases of very small vessels, not free-standing and as such intended to be placed in some sort of hollow base resembling an egg cup (Wiseman 1859, p. 168). Despite this, in his interpretive account, Aus'm Weerth challenged the by now-long held notion that the majority of gold glasses were in fact the bases of larger vessels. He instead argued that they were produced specifically to be inserted as medallions into cement (Aus'm Weerth 1878, p. 119). His view was not, however, widely adopted by his contemporaries.

In the later years of the nineteenth century, a series of interpretive summaries appeared as chapters within larger works on the catacombs and their specifically Christian antiquities. Although in many places drawing their own conclusions, these drew principally on the work of Garrucci and Rossi. They noted also the presence of gold glass in Rhineland contexts. Among the more prominent accounts occurring in English to include substantial sections devoted to gold glass were that of the Reverends Northcote & Brownlow's 1869 *'Roma Sotterranea'* (Northcote & Brownlow 1869, pp. 275-294), updated and expanded into two volumes in 1879 (Northcote & Brownlow 1879, vol. 2, pp. 298-324), and the Rev. Churchill Babington's summarising entry in Smith and Cheetham's *'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities'* in 1876 (Babington 1876, pp. 730-735). Between 1872 and 1880, Garrucci also published his lavishly-illustrated six-volume *'Storia della arte Cristiana'*, including 307 gold glasses with overtly Christian iconography (Garrucci 1876 vol. 3, pls. 168-203) and a further eight (Garrucci 1880, vol. 6, pl. 409) with Jewish symbols. These took into account gold glass discoveries both in Rome and the Cologne region since the publication of his 1864 monograph, but, crucially, did not include pieces with non Christian or Jewish imagery. The appearance of gold glasses in sales catalogues also began during this period, notable examples being the volumes dealing with the sale of the Castellani (Hoffmann 1884, p. 62, pl. 428) and the Tyszkiewicz (Froehner 1898, pp. 35-36, pl. VI, nos. 102-105) collections.

In 1899, the academic, Dr Hermann Vopel, published the concise monograph *'Die altchristlichen Goldgläser'*, dealing specifically with gold glass and updating upon the work of Garrucci. Vopel included a highly useful catalogue of all known examples in

public and private collections at the time of writing (Vopel 1899, pp. 95-114), noting almost five hundred pieces, and, for the first time, including a detailed list of known forgeries. Following Garrucci, and in error, this list included all known examples of brushed technique gold glass medallions. Vopel also attempted to update the distribution of gold glass find-spots outside the catacombs of Rome and the environs Cologne, noting other predominantly Italian contexts (Vopel 1899, p. 20). Illustrations in the volume were few, but for the first time took the form of photographs and, in each instance, depicted examples not previously published. Vopel also introduced for the first time, and discussed alongside other gold glass types, gilt-glass trail gold glass vessels which had also been recovered from the catacombs (Vopel 1899, p. 85, fig. 9).

Vopel also provided a short account of possible production methods specific to Late Antique gold glass based on the experiments of other contemporary authors, discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four of this thesis (Vopel 1899, pp. 3-7), and a highly detailed and scholarly overview of gold glass chronology (Vopel 1899, pp. 17-32). Based on inscriptions relating to known fourth-century martyrs and other individuals alongside elements of the iconography, Vopel attributed a general fourth-century date to gold glass. He also noted an elusive example 'as yet unpublished', and otherwise unrecorded to this day, in the Museum of the Camposanto Teutonico, apparently bearing the inscription JVSTINIANVS SEMPER AVG, relating to the sixth-century emperor Justinian (Vopel 1899, p. 32). Based upon this fragment, Vopel suggested gold glass production, whilst prevalent in the fourth century, continued into the sixth.

In his description of the appearance of gold glass inserted into the walls of the catacombs, Vopel countered Aus'm Weerth's assertion that gold glasses were produced from the first as medallions, noting the presence of vessel foot rings. Following Boldetti's 1720 report that he had found complete vessels affixed to the catacomb walls (Boldetti 1720, pl. VIIIa), Vopel presumed that in most cases, gold glasses were inserted into the catacomb plaster as complete vessels. The vessel walls, he suggested, protruding out from the plaster had been subsequently and unintentionally broken away by contemporary visitors passing along the narrow passageways. This, in Vopel's opinion, explained why only the base discs remain in

fragmentary form, which, in the absence of close examination, had the appearance of being medallions.

### **The early twentieth century to Charles Rufus Morey (1959)**

Vopel's 1899 monograph was considered the standard work concerning gold glass well into the twentieth century, and was heavily drawn upon by Dalton in his 1901 article, 'The gilded glasses of the catacombs' (Dalton 1901a, pp. 225-253). Dalton, based on the repertoire of subjects depicted on gold glass, dated those with pagan and mythological images earliest, to the third and early fourth centuries, prior to the recognition of the Christian Church (Dalton 1901a, pp. 233-235). Those with Christian iconography, he dated to the later fourth century, although following Vopel (Vopel 1899, p. 32) he extended the period of gold glass production well into the sixth century. Such a long period of gold glass production enabled him to explain the presence of glasses with distinctly pagan and mythological iconography (Dalton 1901a, p. 235). These he interpreted as family heirlooms, gifts from pagan friends or the property of those who identified themselves with Christianity for political reasons whilst retaining as much as possible of the old faith. Glasses of this nature had long been acknowledged, but had not been considered in serious discussion. Instead, gold glass had hitherto been given an overtly Christian interpretation by scholars who also principally served as Church ministers.

Following Vopel and Dalton, the early twentieth century saw for the first time the widespread publication of gold glass by people other than those directly connected with the Church. Museum catalogues including gold glass collections began to be published by curators and academics such as Dalton (Dalton 1901b) and Iozzi (Iozzi 1902), as were shorter notices reporting recent gold glass acquisitions by public institutions (e.g. Avery 1921; Alexander 1931). Brief catalogues of examples held in sizable private collections were also produced (e.g. Webster 1929). Gold glass also appeared in substantial works of archaeology. Principal amongst these was Anton Kisa's posthumously published three volume 'Das Glas in Altertume' (1908), tracing glass and glassmaking from the Hellenistic era through to the early medieval period.

Kisa's section on gold glass appears in volume three (Kisa 1908, vol. 3, pp. 867-894). He provided a detailed overview of gold glass chronology and function based on earlier scholarship, and suggested that separate workshops were responsible for producing gold glasses with Christian, Jewish and pagan subjects (Kisa 1908, vol.3, p. 807). Following Kisa's theory that a Jewish gold glass workshop existed in Rome, Schwabe & Reifenberg argued for the Jewish interpretation of all gold glasses depicting Old Testament scenes, hitherto described as Christian (Schwabe & Reifenberg 1935, p. 341). This interpretation was upheld by Neuberg in 1949 (Neuberg 1949).

In 1923, Leclercq published a sizable summery (Leclercq 1923, pp. 1819-1859) of gold glass scholarship under the entry 'Fonds de coupes' in Cabrol & Leclercq's comprehensive 'Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie'. Leclercq updated Vopel's catalogue, recording 512 gold glasses considered to be genuine, and produced a categorization of eleven iconographical subjects. These constituted Biblical subjects, Christ and the saints, various legends, inscriptions, pagan deities, secular subjects, male portraits, female portraits, portraits of couples and families, animals, and Jewish symbols.

In a 1926 article devoted to the brushed technique gold glass known as the Brescia Medallion (Museo Cristiano in Brescia; Morey 1959, p. 42, pl. XXV, no. 237), Mély challenged the deeply ingrained opinion of Garrucci and Vopel that all examples of brushed technique gold glass were in fact forgeries (Mély 1926). The following year, Mély's hypothesis was supported and further elaborated upon in two further articles by different scholars (Peirce 1927; Breck 1926/7). The genuine nature of the glass was argued, not on the basis of its iconographic and orthographic similarity with pieces from Rome, a key reason why Garrucci dismissed it, but instead upon its close similarity with the Fayum mummy portraits from Egypt. Indeed, this comparison was given further credence by Crum's (in Breck 1926/7, p. 353) assertion that the Greek inscription occurs in the Alexandrian dialect of Egypt. Mély noted that the Brescia Medallion and its inscription had been reported as early as 1725 (Mély 1926, p. 2), far too early for the exact peculiarities of Graeco-Egyptian word terminations to have been known to forgers (Breck 1926/7, p. 353).

Comparing the iconography of the Brescia Medallion with other more closely dated objects from Egypt, Peirce proposed that brushed technique medallions were produced in the early third century (Peirce 1927, pp. 1-3), whilst Mély himself advocated a more general third-century date. With the authenticity of the Brescia Medallion more firmly established, Breck advanced a late third- to early fourth-century date for all brushed technique sapphire-blue-backed portrait medallions of that type, some of which (e.g. Metropolitan Museum of Art Inv. no. Fletcher Fund, 1926, 26.258; illustrated by Morey 1959, no. 454; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, no. 153) also had Greek inscriptions in the Alexandrian dialect of Egypt (Breck 1926/7, p. 355). Although now considered genuine by the majority of scholars, the unequivocal authenticity of these glasses was not fully established until 1941, when Ladner discovered and published a photograph of one such medallion still in situ, where it remains to this day, impressed into the plaster sealing an individual loculus in the Catacomb of Panfilo (Ladner 1941, p. 19 & 36, no. 27, fig. 5; illustrated by Morey 1959, no. 222). Shortly after, in 1942, Morey attributed the phrase 'brushed technique' to this gold glass type, the iconography being produced through a series of small incisions undertaken with gem cutters precision and lending themselves to a chiaroscuro like that of a fine steel engraving simulating brush strokes (Morey 1942, p. 127).

In 1959, Charles Rufus Morey's catalogue, 'The Gold-Glass collection of the Vatican Library', recording 470 examples of gold glass in total, was posthumously published under the direction of Dom Guy Ferrari, curator of the Vatican Library's Copy of the Princeton Art Index. Morey's catalogue included cut and incised technique vessel bases, diminutive medallions, gilt-glass trail vessel bases and brushed technique medallions considered by him to be genuine under the same heading, not only from the Vatican collection, but also from thirty-two other major museum collections throughout the world. Each example was accompanied by a black and white photograph and detailed description and identification of the iconography depicted. However, the quality of the photographs was in many cases not as good as Garrucci's line drawings. In many cases the photographs failed to convey a detailed representation of each piece, and gave a very misleading impression of the physical nature of fragmentary gold glass.

Although this was apparently intended, not all known gold glasses, either from the Vatican collections, or from other museums, were included in the final edited work drawn together from Morey's unfinished notes. Elements of the incomplete manuscript (still held in the Manuscripts Division of Princeton University Library ref: C0511) were included in the final publication, attached to the object descriptions prepared by Morey himself. These primarily take the form of a rudimentary workshop categorisation, based upon both stylistic and physical characteristics, in which glasses with both pagan and Christian iconography are attributed to the same workshop, and a basic chronology. Morey's chronology was based purely on stylistic elements, ranging from 'early' to 'late', drawn up relative to the highly subjective perceived competence of the craftsman and the identification of and increasing deterioration in artistic quality upon later pieces. Morey's workshop categories and chronology are discussed in detail in Chapter Nine of this thesis. Morey's untimely death in 1955 left the work unfinished. It was decided, however, that even without the general introduction intended to cover manufacture, chronology, style and provenance, the corpus would be published because of its value as source material. Indeed, Morey's catalogue has formed the basis of every subsequent scholarly account of gold glass to date.

### **Gold glass scholarship in the wake of Morey, 1960 to the present**

Morey's catalogue, which still constitutes the most comprehensive catalogue of gold glass hitherto published, caused a huge upsurge in gold glass scholarly interest. In 1962, Haevernick revived Aus'm Weerth's 1878 hypothesis that all gold glasses were in fact medallions produced solely for insertion into the walls of the catacombs. Haevernick argued that the craftsmen did not take the time to give a regular outer edge to the 'medallions', thus making them appear as broken vessel bases, as to her mind these edges were to be completely hidden in the mortar of the enclosing wall of the tomb-niche. She further suggested that gold glass vessel foot rings were instead intended only as frames for the images. As noted in *Glass of the Caesars*, this was despite her opinion that the foot rings were destined to be hidden from view once inserted into the plaster (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 266).

In his consideration of the Brescia medallion, since the 1920s considered as a genuine piece, Heintze argued on stylistic grounds for a third-century date for gold glasses of the so called 'brushed technique', whilst the 'cut and incised' type glasses he placed in the first quarter of the fourth century and later (Heintze 1964). Bovini's brief paper attempting to place gold glass within a chronological sequence based on iconographical aspects of style, costume and hair treatment (Bovini 1950) was updated and expanded upon by Franca Zanchi Roppo who based her study upon the illustrated pieces in Morey's catalogue (Zanchi Roppo 1967). In 1969, Zanchi Roppo published a catalogue of gold glass in Italian collections, intending to fill some of the gaps in Morey's work left incomplete after his death, including the publication of examples not present in his 1959 catalogue. However, only gold glasses with Christian iconography were included. The catalogue was thus the subject of a crushing review by Deichmann, who lambasted Zanchi Roppo for not including gold glasses with non-overtly Christian iconography and in so doing giving a false picture of the gold glass corpus as a whole (Deichmann 1971, pp. 127-31). A further attempt at defining chronological and workshop groupings, based again upon iconography and perceived stylistic traits, was presented by Faedo in 1978. Faedo also drew almost exclusively upon the illustrations provided in Morey's catalogue to draw his conclusions (Faedo 1978). Neither the chronological or workshop categorisation of Zanchi Roppo or Faedo has, however, been accepted as reliable and a general fourth-century date has been applied to all gold glasses in subsequent publications.

In 1968/1969, Engemann published a substantial article in which he effectively deconstructed Haevernick's hypothesis that cut and incised gold glasses were produced from the start as medallions. Engemann deemed many gold glasses, specifically those depicting sports-related iconography, as unsuitable for an intended funerary function. He furthermore drew parallels with the sports related-iconography of 'contorniate' medallions, coin-sized bronze medallions bearing an array of imagery struck by the official mint in Rome (Alföldi 1943, p. 9). Alföldi had stated that contorniates were struck to be distributed freely as New Year's gifts (Alföldi 1943, p. 12). Engemann thus suggested a similar primary function for gold glasses (Engemann 1968/1969, p.16). Based again upon iconography, Engemann pointed out some of the

flaws in the workshop groups gleaned from Morey's manuscript, but did not offer his own subdivision. He did, however, isolate a distinct group of gold glasses with Jewish and with Christian iconography which he regarded as the product of the same workshop on the basis of individual stylistic details including border type (Engemann 1968/1969, pp. 17-20). He (Engemann 1968/1969, p. 22) also refuted the Jewish interpretations placed upon gold glasses with Old Testament iconography by Schüler (Schüler 1966).

Attributed a very general late third- fourth century date, from the late 1960s onwards, gold glass, being aesthetically pleasing, has appeared ever-increasingly in exhibitions and exhibition catalogues. The most notable of these was 'Age of Spirituality' in New York in 1979, where twenty pieces were illustrated (*Age of Spirituality* 1979, nos. 79, 95, 96, 212, 233, 261, 264, 265, 347, 348, 377, 382, 388, 396, 472, 503, 507, 508, 510 & 511). More recently, 'Picturing the Bible' in Fort Worth (USA) in 2007 included ten (*Picturing the Bible* 2007, nos. 13, 14, 19, 22, 45, 48, 49, 50, 65 & 71). In each instance, however, the catalogue entries reproduce almost verbatim the descriptions published by Morey in 1959. Examples have also been included in exhibitions dedicated to Roman glass, specifically 'Glass of the Caesars' in London in 1987 (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, nos. 152-161), where gold glass was attributed an extremely high and perhaps aristocratic contemporary material value (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, pp. 267-268). Although challenged by Alan Cameron (Cameron 1996, p. 299 & fn. 39), this view has been widely accepted.

The study of the late nineteenth-century gold glass reproductions marketed by Venetian glass workers has also received attention. This was first touched upon by Barovier in 1974 (Barovier 1974, pp. 113-115) and Goldstein in 1977 (Goldstein 1977, p. 59). Later and more substantially, Pillinger devoted an entire monograph to the subject in 1984. However, with little foundation, she re-branded the majority of brushed technique medallions as forgeries (Pillinger 1984). Late nineteenth-century gold glass reproductions were treated most thoroughly by Rudoe in two very recent papers (Rudoe 2002; 2003), and in 2007 six examples appeared in the 'Reflecting Antiquity' exhibition catalogue (Whitehouse 2007, pp. 18- 23, nos. 52-57).



Scholarly articles on gold glass have continued to appear into the first decade of the twenty-first century. In 2000, Filippini published a short descriptive account of gold glasses in situ in the Catacomb of Novatianus (Filippini 2000). However, gold glasses were not discussed in the relation to other material and inscriptions also affixed, like the gold glasses, to the catacomb walls. Filippini's paper thus took the form of a catalogue of gold glasses from the Catacomb of Novatianus, and did not include any substantially new information. Also in 2000, Utro devoted a single paper to gold glass diminutive medallions and their arrangement upon the walls of vessels to form sequences. These illustrated biblical episodes composed of a series of individual elements, each separate element occurring upon a separate medallion. Utro went as far as to suggested possible sequences for a large number of medallions (Utro 2000, pp. 66-83). However, based almost entirely upon the glasses described and illustrated in Morey's catalogue, he misinterpreted the iconography of some medallions, leading to his presentation of incorrect sequences of medallions. Furthermore, his comparison with other media was somewhat superficial, and as a result, episode sequences were not explored to their full extent in the majority of cases.

In 2004, Grig attempted to link all instances of gold glass bearing portraits of saints with the promotion of the cult of the saints by Pope Damasus in the latter fourth century. Most recently in 2006, Vattuone provided a further brief and somewhat superficial overview of gold glass iconographical subjects (Vattuone 2006), and in 2008, Nüsse made a further attempt to divide gold glass into workshop groups. Nüsse, like Zanchi Roppo and Faedo before him, based his study upon the illustrations provided in Morey's catalogue, and his workshop groupings upon the presence of certain perceived stylistic traits in the iconographic depictions (Nüsse 2008, p. 252).

### **Summary and point of departure**

The term 'gold glass', has by almost all past scholarship been universally applied to all objects found principally in the Late Roman catacombs, where gold leaf has been sandwiched, or was perceived to have originally been sandwiched, between a double layer of glass. From its inception, gold glass scholarship has focused overwhelmingly

upon iconography. This has chiefly taken the form of the identification and highly detailed description of the imagery and translation of any inscription. Little attention has been paid to the physical nature of the objects themselves or the contexts from which they were recovered.

Up until the early years of the twentieth century, accounts of gold glass were almost exclusively compiled by Church ministers, and, in the majority of cases, those directly associated with the Catholic Church. Although distinctly pagan and mythic, secular and Jewish gold glasses were noted and in most instances meticulously described by these authorities, the vast majority of scholarly attention was directed at examples with Christian iconography, the largest recorded category. Indeed, today Late Antique gold glass is still widely referred to in scholarly circles as 'Early Christian gold glasses'. Despite a large number of shorter works concerning gold glass to appear during the twentieth century and into the present day, the major standard reference works, from which almost all conclusions appearing in more recent scholarship have been unquestioningly repeated, remain the works of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century. Principal amongst these are the volumes of the Jesuit Father Raffaele Garrucci, and to a slightly lesser extent, the 1716 monograph of papal official Filippo Buonarruoti and the 1901 work of Dalton, drawing on these.

A substantial and coherent account of gold glass, beyond the description of pieces predominantly with overt Christian iconography, and in the context of Late Antiquity rather than fourth-century Christianity, is entirely lacking from the literature. In this thesis I will thoroughly discuss the validity of the key interpretive themes concerning gold glass, the majority of which were first presented in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and reiterated continually to the present day.

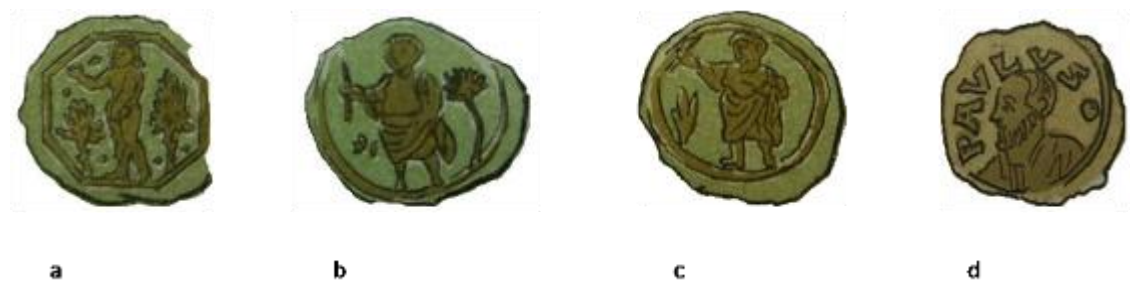
## **Chapter 2: The gold glass collecting history of the British Museum**

Building on the information provided in the previous section, this chapter will discuss the past academic scholarship directed specifically at the gold glass collection of the British Museum. It will examine the formation of the collection, providing detailed information upon the individuals from which the British Museum is known to have acquired examples of gold glass. Gold glasses in the collection with no record of when or from where they were acquired are also examined, shedding light for the first time upon the acquisition of these pieces by the museum. Acquisition data appears under the relevant subheading pertaining to each individual (if known) and is arranged in chronological order by date of acquisition. This is also the order the pieces appear in the catalogue accompanying this thesis (Appendix 1). 'Old Acquisitions', pieces for which no acquisition data has recorded, appear under that subheading. The circumstances leading to the acquisition of gold glasses in each collection by the museum is also noted, including known forgeries and marketed reproductions. Lastly, the data is discussed. It is effectively demonstrated that the collecting history of the British Museum's late antique gold glass collection conforms closely to general nineteenth-century collecting trends.

### **The British Museum collection and gold glass scholarship**

Gold glasses now in the British Museum collection have been included in four catalogues résumés. The earliest inclusion was in Garrucci's 1858 monograph, which illustrated pieces both in the collection at that time, and some which were to be acquired at a later date. Numbers increased with the second edition in 1864, and those of an overtly Christian or Jewish nature again in Garrucci's 1872-1880 work. The catalogue of Iozzi (1900) was the first to deal specifically with the gold glass collection of the British Museum. However, Iozzi certainly never examined the British Museum collection first-hand. His work is exclusively drawn from that of Garrucci (Garrucci 1858; 1864; 1872-80) and is thus incomplete. It lists only the thirty-three pieces specifically stated by Garrucci as being in the British Museum collection, and excludes

those recorded by Garrucci as being in other collections at the time of his publication, but entering the British Museum collection at a later date. Iozzi reproduced the descriptive text largely verbatim and the line drawings from Garrucci. To these he added a degree of colour, illustrated in Figure 1. Being based upon black and white line drawings and not the original objects, however, the red and white enamel details often present upon gold glasses were unknown to Iozzi and thus not reproduced (e.g. Iozzi 1900 pl. VI.1 & 3). Furthermore, in a number of examples, colour intended to represent gold leaf has been applied to the wrong areas, notably mistaking the circular foot ring visible through the vessel base as part of the gold leaf iconography (e.g. Iozzi 1900, pls. II.1 & 6).



**Figure 1.** Gold glass diminutive medallions falsely attributed to the British Museum collection by Iozzi in 1900 (after Iozzi 1900, pls. I.2, II.4-5, & III.3 respectively).

Illustrated in Figure 1a-d (Iozzi 1900, pls. I.2, II.4-5 & III.3 respectively), Iozzi mistakenly attributed four diminutive medallions to the British Museum, which in fact have never been part of the collection. Garrucci labelled the medallion presented here in Figure 1.a as having previously been in Urbana, but now in the British Museum collection (Garrucci 1872-1880, pl. 172.4). The medallion is in fact now in the collection of the Corning Museum of Glass (inv. no. 1966.1.202; Whitehouse 2002, no. 833), and before that was part of the Sangiorgi collection (Sangiorgi 1914, p. 86, no. 309). We might assume that prior to this it was part of the Matarozzi collection in Urbana, although Matarozzi is not mentioned specifically by Garrucci as he is regarding other pieces formerly in his collection. Knowing that the bulk of the Matarozzi gold glasses were purchased by the British Museum in 1863 (see below), Garrucci may have mistakenly assumed that this piece also was part of the transaction and labelled it accordingly. Iozzi also follows Garrucci in attributing the piece presented in Figure 1.d as being part of the British Museum collection (Garrucci 1872-1880, pl. 183.7). The medallion is in

fact part of the Vatican Museums collection (inv. no. 246; Morey 1959, no. 131). The medallions illustrated in Figures 1.b and c are both in the Louvre collection in Paris (ED 1703 & 1705, Arveiller-Dulong & Nenna 2005, nos. 925 & 926). In 1825 they were recorded as being in the Durand collection, and, not labelled as part of the British Museum collection by Garrucci, it is difficult to see why Iozzi should have included them as such.

The catalogue of O. M. Dalton included within his larger volume 'Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum' (Dalton 1901b, pp. 117-130) has remained the standard reference work concerning the British Museum collection. All bar the single 'brushed technique' medallion (Appendix 1 no. **44**) were included within his catalogue. Acquired in 1890, this medallion was initially registered within the British Museum's Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities. However, in the acquisition register, it is accompanied by a hand-written note stating that it has been moved to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, where it remains today. The note is undated; however, it would appear to date approximately to the turn of the nineteenth century. It is thus possible that it had been transferred prior to the writing of Dalton's catalogue, and as such remained unknown to him. Dalton's descriptive catalogue entries, accompanied in the majority of cases by a clear collotype photograph, although accurate, are nonetheless rather basic. They are entirely of an art historical nature, noting only brief details of composition, costume and subject matter, and making little or no mention of the physical state of the glass. Inscriptions, where appropriate, are seldom presented as full transcriptions in Latin, and are even less often provided in translation. Only sporadic and highly variable iconographic comparisons with other gold glasses are provided and basic details of object acquisition are absent in the majority of cases.

Dalton's (1901b) text was repeated almost verbatim in the relevant sections of Morey's 1959 catalogue (Morey 1959, pp. 51-9, pls. XXIX-XXX, nos. 296-351). Translations of inscriptions into English were again not included. This was probably the result of Morey's untimely death before the work was completed. Like Dalton, Morey also excludes the brushed technique medallion in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, despite including all other brushed technique pieces known to him from

other collections. In addition to the gold glass catalogued by Dalton, Morey includes a single piece that he describes as a 'gold glass gem', set within the bezel of a ring (Morey 1959, p. 56, no. 333, pl. XXX). The ring was acquired by the British Museum in 1948 (BM P&E 1948.6-10.1), long after the 1901 publication of Dalton's catalogue, from the Austrian collector Dr J. H. Jantzen (see relevant correspondence in the British Museum archive dated 25<sup>th</sup> April; 11<sup>th</sup> May; 22<sup>nd</sup> May; 15<sup>th</sup> June; 30<sup>th</sup> October and 13<sup>th</sup> November 1948). Upon close examination, presumably not undertaken by Morey, it is clear that the piece does not belong to the sandwich gold glass category. Instead, the Constantinian Chi-Ro is incised upon the bronze bezel base of the ring, gilded and overlain with a single layer of glass. As such, it does not constitute 'gold glass', and is therefore not discussed further within this thesis.

In 1968, six of the best preserved gold glasses from the British Museum collection were included in the 'Masterpieces of Glass' exhibition in London and in the accompanying published catalogue (*Masterpieces of Glass* 1968, nos. 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93). Like all preceding scholarship, however, each entry was purely descriptive, although inscription translations into English were for the first time provided. Glasses from the British Museum collection have since appeared in various exhibitions and catalogues focusing upon Roman glass including 'Glass of the Caesars' in 1987, where the British Museum's brushed technique medallion was published for the first time (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 276, no. 152). Other exhibitions and catalogues where British Museum gold glasses have been included include Byzantine (*Byzantium* 1994, nos. 9a & b) and Early Christian (*Picturing the Bible* 2007, nos. 13, 45 & 48) subjects. In the majority of cases, however, these have been some well-preserved pieces, and as such deemed the most aesthetically pleasing, that were included in 'Masterpieces of Glass'.

Beyond catalogue entries, the publication of the British Museum gold glasses has been limited. In 1996, Alan Cameron published a short note focusing on the re-reading of the inscription upon a single British Museum example, number **19** in the catalogue accompanying this thesis (Appendix 1), and made a convincing case for the male bust labelled Orfitus representing Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, urban prefect of Rome in the 350s AD. British Museum gold glasses have been used more recently to illustrate some

of the more general articles noted in the previous chapter (e.g. Utro 2000; Grig 2004), and are often used as ‘window dressing’ in general volumes focused on Late Antiquity and Early Christianity (e.g. Averil Cameron 1993, fig. 13).

### **The collecting history of the British Museum gold glasses**

The British Museum’s collection of gold glass was principally acquired in the mid to late nineteenth century (1854-1898). Of the fifty-five genuine examples in the collection, rudimentary details of from whom, how and when the museum acquired them are preserved within the British Museum records for forty six. Substantial archival work in Italy, and throughout the rest of Europe, looking for details of the museum benefactors, is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study. A comprehensive examination of the relevant aspects of the lives and collecting tendencies of the nine individuals from whom the British Museum is recorded to have acquired its gold glass collection is thus impossible. However, the information available from British archives and relevant publications is presented below, chronologically by acquisition, allowing some inferences to be made on where gold glasses were originally procured, what circumstances led to their acquisition by the British Museum, and the changing nature of gold glass collectors and collecting in the nineteenth century.

Each collection is discussed chronologically by date of acquisition under the subheading of each benefactor, namely Bunsen, Hamilton, Robinson, Matarozzi, Slade, Meyrick, Franks, Carlisle and Tyszkiewicz. Objects registered with the British Museum prefix OA, standing for ‘Old Acquisition’, have no recorded acquisition details. The provenance of these glasses is, however, speculated upon. Finally the museum’s acquisition of fake and reproduction gold glass is discussed.

### **1854 Bunsen collection (Appendix 1 catalogue nos. 1-10)**

The Bunsen Collection of twenty two objects (BM P&E 1854.7-22.1-22, including a basalt statue 1854.7-22.1, a bronze figurine of Mars 1854.7-22.2, and assorted pieces of glass) was the first collection acquired by the British Museum to include examples of

late antique gold glass. The ten pieces comprise the second largest acquisition of gold glass in the museum. Reported as 'lot 5, three cases of early Christian glass', the objects were purchased for the sum of £30 in July 1854 through George Bunsen Esq. They are recorded in the British Museum archive as originating from the collection of 'Chevalier Bunsen'.

Born into relative poverty, Christian Charles Josias, Baron von Bunsen (1791-1860), better known as *the* Chevalier Bunsen in Britain, was a German diplomat and scholar. In 1857, he received a peerage for life with the title of Baron, in recognition of his diplomatic services to Prussia. Catching the eye of the noted diplomat and classical scholar Barthold George Niebuhr (1776-1831) in 1815, Bunsen was in 1817 made Niebuhr's secretary on his appointment as Prussian envoy to the Papal court (for a full account of Niebuhr's life and works of classical scholarship see Hensler 1838-1839; Winkworth 1852). Aside from his official duties, during his lengthy period in Italy (1819-1838) Bunsen engaged himself feverishly in the study of antiquities and Biblical and other literary scholarship (Bunsen 1868). Despite making no mention of the gold glass and collection of other objects acquired by the British Museum during his lifetime in his memoirs, published after his death by his wife, Bunsen appears as an avid collector of antiquities. Traveling widely throughout Italy in order to acquire them, Bunsen was often under commission from the Prussian Museum in Berlin (Bunsen 1868, p. 331). It is highly likely that he obtained his entire gold glass collection during his time in Rome and Italy.

In July 1817, Bunsen married the Englishwoman Frances Waddington, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Benjamin Waddington of Llanover, Monmouthshire. Following his departure from Rome in 1838 (and after a brief spell as the Prussian ambassador to Switzerland 1839-41), Bunsen went to England, where he spent the rest of his official life, becoming well-acquainted with the British Museum during the first few months of his residency (Bunsen 1864, p. 468). Bunsen resigned from his post as Prussian ambassador to Great Britain over Prussia's policy of 'benevolent neutrality' during the Crimean war in April 1854. His memoirs for this year reveal his increasing disillusionment with the intellectual and political state of Germany (Bunsen 1864, p. 369) and it is thus significant in this context that his collection of gold glass and other



antiquities was acquired by the British Museum in the July of the same year. The artifacts acquired by the British Museum are of a considerably limited value compared with those which Bunsen is recorded to have acquired for the Prussian Museum in Berlin during his travels in Italy; indeed much of the gold glass is considerably fragmented. It is thus plausible that they represent a smaller personal collection.

Responsible for selling the collection to the British Museum, George Bunsen (1824-1896) was the fourth son of Chevalier Bunsen who, at the time the purchase was made, was in Charlottenberg (near Heidelberg, Germany) engaged upon Christian literary study. The British Museum was, however, an obvious choice for the collection because of its long acquaintance with Bunsen, his firmly established English connections and Bunsen's own contemporary disillusionment with Germany. No record of this transaction appears within the memoirs of Bunsen himself (Bunsen 1868). However, a letter dated June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1854, contained within the British Museum central archive, offering the collection for sale clearly states that George Bunsen was acting under direction from his father. The gold glass fragments are specifically stated as having been retrieved from the Roman catacombs. Unfortunately no further contextual detail is recorded. Further collections of antiquities were offered by Bunsen on two separate occasions during the period of this acquisition (British Museum Committee Minutes: March 1854 BM C.8667 and July 1854 BM C.8712) but were, in both instances, declined by the Museum.

### **1856 Hamilton collection (Appendix 1 catalogue no. 11)**

The Hamilton collection of twenty nine early Christian objects (BM P&E 1856.4-25.1-29, predominantly engraved gemstones), includes a single example of late antique gold glass. The collection was purchased in April 1856 from Dr O. M. Markham for the sum of £100 and is clearly recorded in the British Museum acquisition register as having come from the collection of the Abbé Hamilton. In Dalton's 1901 catalogue, the collection was wrongly described as the 'Hamilton Palace Collection', the extensive collection also donated to the British Museum belonging to Abbé Hamilton's namesake, the Scottish politician and collector Alexander Hamilton, 10th Duke of

Hamilton, 7th Duke of Brandon (Dalton 1901b, p. 128, no. 635). The collection has been rightly reattributed to Abbé Hamilton for the first time in this thesis.

Abbé James Hamilton is a shadowy figure amongst nineteenth-century antiquarians. Spier is of the opinion that Hamilton was one of the foremost gem collectors of the period (Spier 1997, p. 39). However, based on a sizable collection of letters held in the Scots College archive (Rome), Finney provides the best, although unavoidably incomplete, biography available to date, reaching the rather different conclusion that Hamilton was in fact a relatively minor player (Finney 2003). According to Finney, the Hamilton family were prosperous and respected members of Edinburgh's late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scottish Anglican middle class. Born in 1816, James Hamilton was in 1829, at the age of thirteen, sent to Eton by his father, who, like his father before him, was professor of midwifery at the University of Edinburgh. At the age of sixteen, however, James left Eton and in 1841 at the age of twenty-five appears to have re-surfaced in Rome with the title of 'Abbé'. Finney reasonably conjectures that he had converted to Roman Catholicism and was ordained as a priest in Paris, where he is likely to have developed his interest in medieval art (Finney 2003, p. 190).

Hamilton travelled widely throughout Italy and Sicily during his lifetime, but also went as far afield as Timbuktu, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Beirut, Istanbul, Stuttgart, Ratisbon, Munich and Malta. Evidence concerning his collection of antiquities, however, remains extremely thin. Before its entry into the British Museum, the single gold glass fragment was published in Perret's six volume work on the catacombs of Rome (Perret 1851-1855, pl. XXI.2) and thus provides a possible provenance. Predominantly a collector of gemstones, it is likely that Hamilton was drawn to purchasing this single example because of its small size and gem-like qualities. It should also be noted that Hamilton was a correspondent of Cardinal Wiseman, who was well-acquainted with the gold glass scholar Father Garrucci, and who later lectured on the subject during his tour in Ireland (Wiseman 1859, pp. 164-216).

Hamilton had been in correspondence with, and given first refusal to, the British Museum concerning a number of antiquities prior to the 1856 acquisition (Finney

2003, p. 192; SCAR. Box 21. no. 181). Finney identifies the Dr Markham recorded in the acquisition records for the 1856 purchase with Dr William Orlando Markham, who had studied French surgical procedures at Edinburgh University with distinction, and who may well have been a student of Abbé Hamilton's father (Finney 2003, p. 193). At the time the purchase was made, Markham was practising medicine in London. Unfortunately no correspondence relating to the acquisition survives within the British Museum archive. Finney, however, conjectures that Markham was on good personal terms with the Hamilton family and had either become the owner of these objects (himself possessing more than adequate funds) or was acting on behalf of the womenfolk of the Hamilton family after the death of Abbé Hamilton himself, the date of which is unknown (Finney 2003, pp. 193-194).

#### **1859 Robinson collection (Appendix 1 catalogue nos. 12-16)**

The Robinson collection of five gold glass pieces (BM P&E 1859.6-18.1-5) was the first British Museum acquisition to solely consist of gold glass. The collection is recorded in the British Museum acquisition records as having been presented by J. C. Robinson Esq. in June 1859 with the information that they had been obtained in Rome from the antiquities dealer Baseggio, also mentioned in Garrucci's entries for some of the objects in this collection, but about whom I have not been able to find anything.

Born into the middle class, John Charles Robinson (1824-1913) was first a student of architecture, and his original training undoubtedly contributed to the very broad understanding of the arts that he was to develop (Davies 1998, p. 170). As a young man, Robinson had found that his real interest lay in painting and in 1844 he went to study art in Paris. He continued to paint and exhibit his work as late as 1881, but he was soon forced to find other ways of supplementing his income, spending a number of years teaching and producing reports for the Schools of Design concerning the teaching of art in Paris. It was as a result of this work that, in 1853, Robinson came to be employed by the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House, shortly after to move to South Kensington, and now the Victoria and Albert Museum. An excellent

survey charting Robinson's career at the museum has been recently published by Davies (1998; 1999).

Throughout his time at the South Kensington Museum (1853-1867), Robinson was engaged upon the acquisition of antiquities, predominantly under government sponsorship. Multiple related trips to Paris and Rome on which Robinson procured a large number of relatively inexpensive items are recorded throughout the 1850s. It is not certain when between 1853 and 1859 Robinson acquired the gold glass now in the British Museum. The Robinson gold glasses are all of a fragmentary nature and not, by the standards of the time, 'inclusive of any remarkable examples' (Franks 1864, p. 380). They were thus most likely purchased privately by Robinson, who, given his background and that his financial position within the museum was not secure (Davies 1998, p. 181; V&A Robinson papers 19<sup>th</sup> December 1853), did not possess the means to purchase more complete examples in a greater state of preservation.

Robinson's apparently deep feeling of resentment over his position in the museum reached a climax in 1860. Refusing to keep an official diary of his activities, he was told he would have to resign. Robinson did not resign, but neither did he complete the diary. It is quite possible that this growing resentment led, a few months before, to Robinson's decision to make a gift of the gold glass in his possession to the British rather than the South Kensington Museum. Nevertheless, it is also equally if not more plausible that Robinson's gold glass fragments were not of the artistic standard preferred by the collecting policy of the South Kensington Museum at the time. Indeed, in 1863, the museum acquired an exemplary gold glass diminutive medallion (inv. no. 8990.1863), and in 1868 an extremely fine 'brushed technique' gold glass portrait medallion (inv. no. 1052.1858; illustrated in Figure 33 below).

### **1863 Matarozzi collection (Appendix 1 catalogue nos. 17-33)**

The Matarozzi collection consists solely of gold glass pieces (BM P&E 1863.7-27.1-17), most of which are of the highest state of preservation and include a number bearing rare and occasionally exceptional iconographic elements. The collection was acquired in January 1863, purchased by the museum for an unknown sum from an individual

recorded in the acquisition book as Signor Mosca, and accompanied by the information that they had once belonged to Count Matarozzi of Urbania.

Other than that he (and his collection) resided at Castel Durante in Urbania (Torr 1898, p. 1), in the absence of archival study abroad extremely little is known about Matarozzi, including his full name. In Frank's article (1864) relating to the collection's acquisition, no details regarding Matarozzi or the collection history were given; instead, Franks concentrated on a detailed description of each piece. That Matarozzi and the Matarozzi dynasty were avid collectors of art can, however, be in part deduced from his collection of gold glass being the largest in private hands: at the time Garrucci's initial study was published in 1858, the 'Counts' Matarozzi were recorded as being in possession of seventeen pieces, whilst the nearest rival, Depoletti, of Rome had only four.

The 'Catalogue Des Peintures' published within Passavant & Jacob's 1860 monograph 'Raphael d'Ubin et son père Giovanni Santi', notes a painting, 'La vierge', presented to the Matarozzi family by Giovanni Santi for the chapel of Castel Durante (Passavant & Jacob 1860, p. 610). It states that the death of Count Matarozzi in 1835 led to a dispute between three rival claimants to the title. The painting in question was thus divided into three portions. The middle part was accorded to 'Madame Maddalena Mattarozzi' Batelli in Fossombrone, a second piece went to 'M. Leonardi Matterozi Secondini' in Pesaro, and the third was retained in Urbania. The precise spelling of surname 'Matarozzi' by each of the three reported claimants differs slightly in the published account. Although the gold glass collection is not mentioned in this passage, the division of the art collection between rival claimants after 1835 could account for its attribution by Garrucci in 1858 and Franks in 1864 as having belonged to the 'Counts' Matarozzi. It is interesting to note that the Matarozzi gold glasses were acquired by the British Museum at approximately the same time as the 'La vierge' was acquired in its entirety by the museum in Berlin in the late 1850s. We may perhaps conclude that almost thirty years after the original dispute, some sort of agreement had been reached, or that the entire collection, for some as yet unknown reason, had to be sold.

The memoirs of Count Tyszkiewicz, from whom the British Museum acquired a further two pieces of gold glass in 1898 (discussed below), makes a notable mention of the sale of gold glass to England in the 1860s (Tyszkiewicz 1898, pp. 40-41):

*'... in the Via del Babuino lived old Capobianchi. He never had a large number of works of art at once, but all were good, and therefore sold rapidly. One day, while travelling in Sicily, he had the good fortune to acquire a quantity of glass cups of the early Christian era, ornamented between two thicknesses of glass with gilded subjects and inscriptions. The descriptions of these glasses were published by Father Garrucci and [the glasses] sent to England, where, considering the period they fetched a good price. Today, glasses so rare and beautiful would have raised thrice the sum, and few museums possess more than a few scattered specimens.'*

Rudoe (2003, p. 212) states that it is tempting to speculate that Tyszkiewicz' story relates to the Matarozzi group. Indeed, the Matarozzi group is the only gold glass collection to number seventeen pieces, and was acquired by a museum in England in the 1860s. Furthermore, the gold glasses are all in an exceptional state of preservation and were all published by Garrucci (1858; 1864). The acquisition of the Matarozzi gold glasses in Sicily is interesting, as all of the three claimants to the Matarozzi title are above noted to have resided in northern Italy, within a reasonable distance from Urbania. Furthermore, no trace of Signor Mosca has been recorded other than in the British Museum acquisition book.

### **1868 and 1870 Slade collection (Appendix 1 catalogue nos. 34-37)**

The Slade collection of nine hundred and forty four pieces of glass and numerous other items, including three gold glasses, was a bequest to the British Museum in 1868 in the will of Sir Felix Slade Esq. In 1870, a further gold glass was presented to the museum by 'the executors of Felix Slade Esq.' as part of an assortment of thirteen items purchased by them for the sum of £250 on Slade's death.

Sir Felix Slade (1788-1868) was the youngest son of Robert Slade (d.1835). His father was a landowner and proctor in Doctors' Commons, later becoming deputy lieutenant

for Surrey. His mother Eliza was the daughter of Edward Foxcroft of Halsteads (Thornton-in-Lonsdale, Yorkshire). After the death of his eldest brother in 1858, Felix inherited both Halsteads and the whole of his father's considerable estate. Taking no part in public life, he never married, and instead devoted himself to the legal profession and to collecting. His wide circle of friends included Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks of the British Museum, whom Wilson (2007, *Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25704> [accessed 6 March 2010]) conjectures he met in 1850 when lending items to the Medieval Exhibition at the Society of Arts, of which Franks was secretary.

Slade's predominant collecting specialism's were prints and glass, the latter on which he apparently spent some £8000. His glass collection was catalogued and lavishly published in 1871 (Franks & Nesbitt 1871). He lent generously to many mid-nineteenth century exhibitions and gave specific antiquities to the British Museum during his lifetime. These included such items as the 'sword of Tiberius' (BM G&R 1866.0806.1), and were the type of gift available only to a man of very substantial means. The gold glass from the Slade collection is, in accordance with most nineteenth century collections, largely without details of acquisition. The large gilded plaque, more commonly known as the St Ursula bowl (36), however, is recorded as having been acquired by Slade from the Herstatt collection from Germany. Precise details of acquisition are unfortunately unrecorded, although the Herstatt collection itself was described by Düntzer in 1867.

### **1878 Meyrick collection (Appendix 1 catalogue no. 38)**

The six hundred and eighty six artefacts presented to the British Museum by Major-General Augustus Meyrick, the residue of the Meyrick-Douce collection, in 1878, include a single gold glass fragment. Major-General Augustus Meyrick was the second cousin and heir of the antiquary Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick (1783-1848), inheriting the substantial collection of antiquities belonging to the latter. Samuel Rush practiced as an advocate in the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts until 1823 when he devoted the rest of his life to antiquities and collecting, publishing widely, predominantly

concerning arms and armour (Bailey 2004, *Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18644> [accessed 6 March 2010]).

In 1834, the antiquary Francis Douce (1757-1834), Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum bequeathed Meyrick a part of his collection of antiquities, which Meyrick published as 'A catalogue of the Doucean museum' in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' of 1836. Although the gold glass fragment is not noted specifically, Meyrick does record 'several specimens of Roman glass' in the collection (Meyrick 1836, p. 600, no. 37). The gold glass exists only as a small fragment, and as such may not have warranted detailed mention in the catalogue of the Doucean collection. The motive behind Douce's various collections was to illustrate the manners, customs, and beliefs (especially those of the common people) of all ages (Hurst 2004, *Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7849> [accessed 6 March 2010]). In view of Meyrick's primary interest in arms and armour, it is much more likely that the gold glass fragment, now in the British Museum, originated from the collection of Francis Douce.

The South Kensington Museum failed to purchase the entire collection when it was offered to the museum for £50,000. In 1871, Augustus Meyrick offered the entire collection for auction. The majority of the collection was purchased by the Paris dealer and collector Frederic Spitzer. The items that did not sell, including the gold glass fragment, were later presented to the British Museum.

### **1881, 1886 and 1893 Franks collection (Appendix 1 catalogue nos. 39-43)**

The Franks collection consists of five gold glasses from three separate acquisitions in 1881, 1886 and 1893. The gold glass from the 1881 acquisition was one of three objects (BM P&E 1881.6-24.1-3) purchased by the British Museum through Augustus Wollaston Franks from the sale of the collection of the German antiquarian Karl Disch in Cologne, May 16<sup>th</sup> 1881 (Lot 1357). The glass, more commonly known as the St Severin bowl (**39**) was unique in being the large portion of a vessel wall, studded with numerous diminutive medallions. Already published prior to its acquisition by Franks, the St Severin Bowl for the first time highlighted diminutive medallions as vessel studs,



rather than the bases of very small cups. The full amount Franks paid for it is recorded by Aus'm Weerth as being the sizable sum of 6400 Marks (Aus'm Weerth 1881, p. 129).

The 1886 acquisition of 336 assorted objects (BM P&E 1886.11-17.1-336) was presented by Franks to the British Museum from the collection formed by his friend and brother-in-law, who died childless in the same year, Alexander Nesbitt Esq. (1817-1886). These included three small gold glass fragments (**40**, **41** & **42**). Recently the subject of a concise biography (Stevenson 1999), Nesbitt, the heir to a considerable family fortune, was an amateur enthusiast of medieval art and an avid collector of ancient glass. In association with Franks, Nesbitt published the Slade collection of ancient glass in 1871 after its entry into the museum (Franks & Nesbitt 1871). Nesbitt's scholarly preoccupations entailed extensive travels abroad. This included a stay of four months in Rome during the winter of 1858-9 for the purposes of study and it is tempting to suggest that it was during this trip that he acquired the gold glass fragments. Indeed, the British Museum acquisition book for this collection notes 'many pieces originally purchased from Rome'. Unfortunately no details of specific objects and prices are given. Nevertheless, Dalton illustrated gilded paper mounts, which no longer survive, surrounding the gold glasses registered in the catalogue accompanying this thesis as numbers **40** and **42** (Dalton 1901, no. 601, pl. XXI). Mounts of this type are discussed by Grose as having been used by antiquities dealers in Rome between approximately 1860 and 1920 (Grose 1989, pp. 243-244). The 1893 acquisition of 184 objects (BM P&E 1893.4-26.1-184) was presented to the British Museum by Franks from his own personal collection. This included a single fragment of gold glass (**43**), labelled as having coming from Rome in the British Museum acquisitions book.

Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897) became the British Museum's deputy keeper of antiquities in 1851. He has often described as the 'second founder of the British Museum' and the best known antiquary of his day (Caygill 1997, p. 76). Although an employee, Franks poured his vast private fortune into the Museum, donating over 7,000 objects, plus a large number of items purchased initially by him and subsequently from him by the Museum itself (Caygill 1997, p. 95). Franks also played an instrumental role in the acquisition of medieval antiquities (the category to which early Christian objects such as gold glasses were deemed to belong) against a

backdrop of public opposition to art of this period (Stratford 1993, pp. 46-51). The best biography of Franks' life and work is provided in the edited volume of Caygill & Cherry (1997).

#### **1890 Carlisle collection (Appendix 1 catalogue no. 44)**

The Carlisle collection consists of a single gold glass brushed technique medallion (**44**). The short record in the British Museum acquisitions register states that it was purchased by the museum from the Earl of Carlisle in 1890 for the substantial sum of £1,200. At a later unrecorded date, but presumably occurring prior to Dalton's 1901 catalogue within which it was not included, the glass was transferred to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

Succeeding to the title of Earl in 1889 on the death of his uncle, the ninth Earl of Carlisle in 1890, George James Howard (1843-1911) was an aristocrat, artist, and being of hugely substantial means, he was a notable patron of the Pre-Raphaelite circle (Gibson 1968). Travelling extensively, he made his first visit to Italy in 1866. He made numerous return visits in following years travelling extensively both in Italy and the Mediterranean (Surtees 1988, pp. 46-8 & 100-7). Although no record survives, it is upon one such visit where he is likely to have acquired the gold glass medallion.

#### **1898 Tyszkiewicz collection (Appendix 1 catalogue nos. 45-46)**

The Tyszkiewicz collection in the British Museum consists in its entirety of two pieces of gold glass (**45-46**). These were purchased from the sale of the Tyszkiewicz collection of various antiquities, which included five gold glasses, through Messrs Rollin and Fenardent, lot 103. No record of the amounts paid for each piece is preserved within British Museum records; however, a copy of the sale catalogue (Froehner 1898) held in the Rakow Research Library of the Corning Museum of Glass, includes pencil annotations indicating that the glasses were purchased by the British Museum for the substantial sums of 1,030 and 1,380 francs respectively.

The prices realised for the glasses purchased by the British Museum was considerably more than two other examples from the same collection, now in the Corning Museum of Glass (inv. nos. 90.1.3; Whitehouse 2002, no. 828) and the Musée Archéologique in Lyon (inv. no. E.388.e; Filippini 1995, no. 9) respectively. Each was purchased for a total of 360 francs (Whitehouse 2002, p. 242). Whilst the pieces purchased by the British Museum are of the cut and incised technique, the other two glasses from the Tyszkiewicz collection for which we have an indication of the sale price are not. The glass now in the Corning Museum of Glass is a brushed technique medallion, the style at the time of the auction in 1898 considered to be a forgery by the most eminent published authorities (Garrucci 1858; 1864, and, the following year, Vopel 1899). The glass now in Lyon is of the gilt-glass trail technique, in 1898 still absent from published accounts. Already the focus of a growing number of scholarly works, gold glasses of the cut and incised technique were thus considered to be of a far higher value.

Whilst acquisition details of gold glass the British Museum number **45** by Tyszkiewicz remain unknown, gold glass number **46** does appear in the 1884 sale catalogue of the collection of Alessandro Castellani (1823-1883), in Rome (Hoffmann 1884, p. 62, no. 428). Castellani was an antiquarian, antiquities dealer and, as a partner in his father's celebrated goldsmithing firm, a man of substantial means. He specialised in the reproduction of antique jewellery, but also of ancient glass. Castellani had his own family collection of ancient glass, of which the British Museum example was a part. Unfortunately no record of how or when the piece was acquired by the Castellani family has survived. This collection became a rich source of inspiration for the Compagnia Venezia Murano, to which Alessandro Castellani was the artistic advisor, and which began to offer reproductions of gold glass for sale in Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878 and after (Rudoe 2002, pp. 309-312). It is indeed likely that Tyszkiewicz purchased this glass at the sale of the Castellani collection in 1884, from which the British Museum also acquired a number of objects. No explicit mention of either gold glass acquisition appears within his Tyszkiewicz's memoirs (1898).

Count Michael Tyszkiewicz (d. 1897) was an avid and lifelong collector of antiquities whom Froehner remembered as an inveterate collector for which acquisition was a consuming passion: once an object had been acquired and initially admired, it was no

longer of interest to him (Froehner 1898, pp. 3-4). Tyszkiewicz's memoirs were published posthumously (1898), providing a mine of information both about himself and his collecting habits, and concerning the antiquities trade in the second half of the nineteenth century. In it, he states that he spent part of each year in Italy, in Naples from 1862, and from 1865 in Rome. Although tempting, it cannot be said with any conviction that Tyszkiewicz's other gold glass (**45**) was purchased in Rome. Other than their inclusion in the British Museum acquisition register, no further information regarding Messrs Rollin and Fenardent has yet come to light.

### **Old Acquisitions (Appendix 1 catalogue nos. 47-55)**

A total of nine gold glass fragments, some of which are in an excellent state of preservation, are given the prefix OA, standing for 'Old Acquisition' (objects for which the acquisition details are unknown), in the British Museum collection. Nevertheless, despite the unfortunate absence of acquisition details, it is possible to speculate on the date of entry into the British Museum and possible provenance of many of them.

Numbers **48** and **52-55** in the catalogue accompanying this thesis (Appendix 1) are all described as being in the British Museum collection by Garrucci in 1858 in the first edition of his major volume on gold glass (Garrucci 1858, pp. 7, 71, 13 & pls. XX.5, XXI.3, II.3, XXXV.3 & IV.4 respectively). We can therefore confidently assume that each of these gold glasses had entered into the British Museum in the years prior to 1858. Furthermore, numbers **48**, **53** and **55** all either have, or were photographed by Dalton as having, gilt-edged paper mounts (Dalton 1901b, nos. 606, 623, pl. XXXI). Gilt mounts have already been noted above as being used by antiquities dealers in Rome in the mid- and late-nineteenth century (Grose 1989, pp. 243-244). These glasses may thus have been purchased in Rome. Garrucci stated that number **47** in the British Museum was at the time of his 1858 publication (Garrucci 1858, p. 46, pl. X.1), in the private collection of Signor Luigi Fould. I have not been able to find any details regarding this individual; however, by Garrucci's second edition of 1864 number **47** is stated as being present within the British Museum collection (Garrucci 1864, p. 77, pl. X.1). Although

no record of the acquisition is retained in the museum archives, the object was thus certainly acquired by the Museum between 1858 and 1864.

Not recorded in any of Garrucci's volumes, number **49** in the British Museum collection takes the form of a gilt-glass trail vessel base. It was first published by Vopel in 1899, where it was explicitly stated as being in the British Museum collection (Vopel 1899, p. 96, no. 22), thus providing the latest possible date which it could have been acquired. Garrucci did not include gilt trail glasses in any of his publications; indeed, Vopel was the first to publish this type. The absence of number **49** from Garrucci's volumes thus in no way implies that it was not part of the British Museum collection at that time, and it may well have entered the Museum at that or an even earlier date.

The remaining fragments, numbers **50** and **51** are also not recorded anywhere in Garrucci's work. Number **51** is illegible in its entirety. It is indeed not readily apparent that it actually is a genuine gold glass fragment thus warranting its exclusion. Number **50**, however, although small and fragmentary, is clearly a glass vessel base of the cut and incised technique. It retains only a small portion of the border of its iconography. Despite this, however, if its existence had been made known to Garrucci by Franks, whom Garrucci specifically acknowledges as having provided him with the details of all the British Museum glasses (Garrucci 1864, p. 28), it is strange that he did not publish it. It is highly plausible that this specific fragmentary piece was not part of the British Museum collection in 1864, and may indeed have been acquired at a much later date. Included in Dalton's catalogue, both numbers **50** and **51** were present in the collection by 1901 (Dalton 1901b, nos. 648 & 651 respectively).

#### **Fakes and forgeries, marketed and other reproductions (Appendix 1 catalogue nos. 56-65)**

The British Museum collection contains five gold glass forgeries. Only one of these has been registered, and thus the possibility remains that many more as yet un-located examples may exist in the museum basement. Entered into the British Museum acquisition register in 1847 and catalogued here as number **56**, the faked gold glass registered as BM P&E 1847.8-24.2 is accompanied by the following entry:

*'Roman Portrait (?) in peculiar costume, on leaf gold between thin plates of glass (usually) but this specimen is between a glass facing and a back of black resin. In an oak frame 3.4 inches diameter. Purchased from Mr. J. G. P. Fisher, 8 shillings. Said to have been found near to lake Perugia'.*

This piece was purchased by the museum eight years before the first recorded acquisition of genuine examples of gold glass in the Bunsen collection acquired in 1854 (above). The alleged find spot, Lake Perugia, is in central Italy, north of Rome. No information concerning Mr. J. G. P. Fisher is present within the British Museum records, and, lacking even his full name, we might assume that he was an early- to mid- nineteenth-century participant in the Grand Tour of modest means. The fraudulent glass is accompanied by a nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century object display label, illustrated in Figure 2. Its British Museum accession number (1847.8-24.2) is written in pencil upon the reverse.



**Figure 2.** Late nineteenth or early twentieth-century object display label for gold glass forgeries in the British Museum collection numbers **56** and **57** (38 x 105 mm, Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

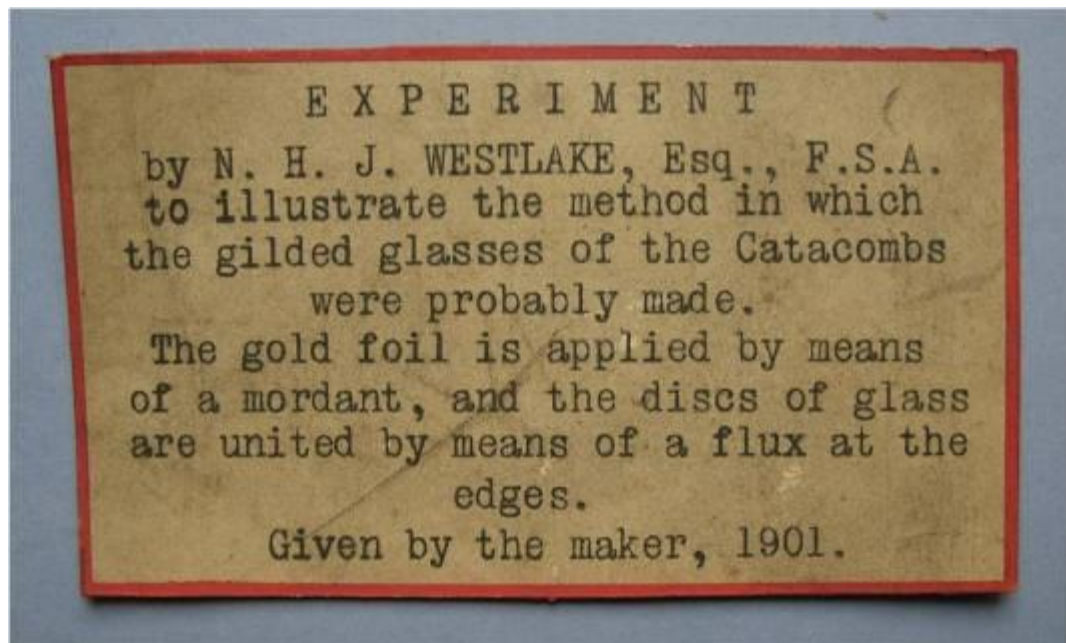
The display label illustrated in Figure 2 clearly relates to two gold glass discs, and furthermore indicates that they were both on display in the museum galleries even after they had been identified as forgeries. Although no other accession number has been written upon the label, the second piece is most probably that catalogued here as number **57** in the British Museum collection. Similar in many ways to **56**, taking the form of a black resin backed glass disc, rather than a vessel base, and attempting to imitate the 'brushed technique', no acquisition details for number **57** exist. The glass is,

however, illustrated and recorded as part of the British Museum collection, and was considered to be authentic in 1851, again prior to the museum's first recorded acquisition of genuine gold glasses (Yates 1851, p. 170). It is not, however, possible to tell when exactly the piece entered the collection or indeed when either glass was first identified as a forgery, identified in both instances by the backing of black resin rather than the gold leaf being fused between two glass layers.

Unregistered catalogue entries numbers **58-60** belong to a larger group of well-known forgeries reusing the base-fragments of already old glasses and cold-painting decoration onto the bottoms. Other published examples belonging to this group now reside in the Corning Museum of Glass (inv. nos. 76.3.10 & 60.3.7a; Whitehouse 2003, pp. 108-110, nos. 1066 & 1067), and the Yale University Art Gallery (inv. nos. Moore Collection 1955.6.207-212; Matheson 1980, pp. 142-144, nos. A13-A18). A group of these glasses were offered to the British Museum in 1909. In a letter dated 1<sup>st</sup> June 1909 to an otherwise unknown Madame M. Eichwede, reported by Pillinger but not located in the British Museum archive by me, Dalton notes them as 'a collection of gilded glasses having all the appearance of being false' (Pillinger 1984, p. 19). They were subsequently rejected by the Museum and it remains unclear why these three glasses were retained.

In 1927, Eisen noted that of the thirty glasses of this type known to him, at least twenty-two once formed part of the collection of the distinguished scholar and art collector Count Bartholomeo Borghesi. According to Borghesi, they were all found in the catacombs of Rome in 1849 (Eisen 1927, p. 573). After his death, the glasses were inherited by his daughter, Countess Giacomo Manzoni, whose husband was also a student and collector of art. They were finally procured by the painter and collector Professor Mariano Rocchi who, shortly after, in 1909, published two of them (Rocchi 1909, pp. 9-10). 1909 was also the date in which some glasses of this type were offered to the British Museum. It is thus certainly possible that Countess Giacomo Manzoni's collection was auctioned after her death, Professor Mariano Rocchi acquiring some, whilst others were purchased by Madame M. Eichwede, who in turn offered them to the British Museum. We might therefore reasonably speculate that numbers **57-59** in the British Museum collection had previously been in the possession

of Countess Giacomo Manzoni, and as such, before that in the original collection of Count Bartholomeo Borghesi. The provenance of glasses from this group have been examined in more detail by Whitehouse, who notes that the identification of Borghesi as the first known owner of the group establishes that they were made in or before 1860, the year of his death (Whitehouse 1994, pp. 135). There seems little reason to doubt that the glasses were acquired by Borghesi in 1849, as he claimed, and as such manufactured in the first half of the nineteenth century, probably in the 1840s.

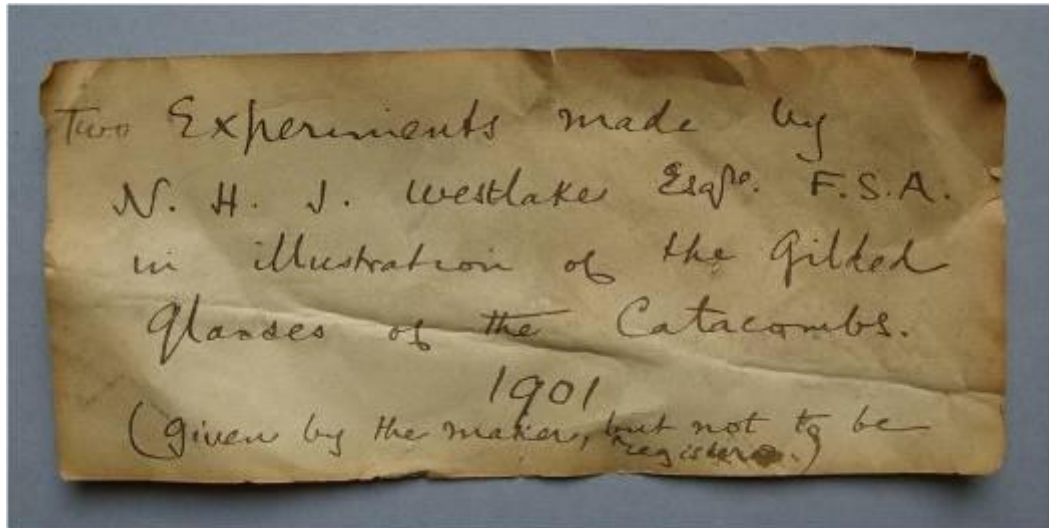


**Figure 3.** Early twentieth-century object display label for one of Westlake's experimental reproductions of gold glass, probably British Museum collection number **63** (60 x 104 mm, Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The gold glasses numbered here as **61-63** were produced, not as forgeries intended to deceive, but as experimental reproductions in order to demonstrate the possible method of gold glass production. They were all produced in 1901 and were noted briefly in Dalton's article of the same year (Dalton 1901a p. 252, see also Dillon 1907, p. 93). One of Westlake's glasses, possibly the more aesthetically pleasing number **63**, is referred to in an early twentieth-century object label, illustrated in Figure 3, demonstrating that it was once on general display in the museum galleries. Two of the glasses, presumably numbers **61** and **62**, are further mentioned in a handwritten note, illustrated in Figure 4 and probably written by Dalton, stating quite explicitly that they were not to be officially registered. The glasses produced by Westlake have not been



registered to this day. As a result, the exact whereabouts within the museum of the piece numbered here as **62**, illustrated in 1984 by Pillinger (Pillinger 1984, pl. 27, fig. 180), is now unknown and I have been unable to examine it personally.



**Figure 4.** Hand written note most probably by O. M. Dalton concerning two of Westlake's experimental reproductions of gold glass, possibly numbers **61** and **62** (62 x 138 mm, Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Gold glasses numbered **64** and **65** both belong to the sizable group of gold glasses produced as marketed reproductions, without the intention to deceive, in Venice for the 1878 Paris Exhibition and after. Number **64**, the first to be acquired by the British Museum, was presented in December 1898 by Charles Hercules Read, who had succeeded Franks as Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography shortly before in 1896. It was acquired by him only a few months after he had purchased pieces from the Tyszkiewicz collection for the museum.

Taking the form of a diminutive medallion studded bowl, **64** was entered into the accessions register (BM P&E 1898.2-11.1) as 'a reproduction bowl from the catacombs, now in the Vatican'. The arrangement and subjects depicted upon the encircling medallions, however, appear to have been based very firmly upon those of the St Severin bowl (**39**), acquired by the museum in 1881 as part of the Franks collection noted above. The outer edge is decorated with two bands of greenish blue glass. Pillinger (Pillinger 1984, p. 17), followed recently by Rudoe (Rudoe 2003, p. 217), notes this as a feature derived from Roman glass that appears also as a feature of Murano

copies of Late Antique gold glasses. Interestingly, however, the bands upon the glass echo the two parallel wheel cut lines in the same position upon the St Severin bowl itself. The British Museum acquisition register includes a sketch of the bowl (**64**) which clearly shows that it was already damaged when it entered the museum with a sizable chunk missing from the upper edge, and it is interesting to surmise that it was bought by Read who initially mistook it for an original Late Antique example.

The vessel was probably, however, acquired by the museum for purely documentary reasons, as similar vessels were still in commercial production at the time (Rudoe 2003, p. 217). Nevertheless, hitherto un-noted, it is also plausible that **64** was acquired by Read because its design was so closely based upon the St Severin bowl (**39**). An early twentieth-century display label related to the vessel, reported by Rudoe but not located by myself, states 'Modern dish to illustrate the ancient method or ornamentation, made at Venice'. The manufacturer is not recorded (Rudoe 2003 p. 217). It is tempting to envisage it as having one been displayed next to the St Severin bowl. At some point since its acquisition by the museum, the bowl has been damaged further. Reflective of the lack of interest in reproductions, this was certainly deemed unimportant as it was not recorded and no attempt to repair the vessel was, or has been, made.

The second example of Venetian marketed reproduction gold glass has been acquired very recently, one hundred years after the first, in 1998. It is catalogued here as number **65** and was the subject of a recent article (Rudoe 2003). The glass was acquired by the museum with the information that it had once borne a label recording its purchase at the Paris Exhibition of 1878 by Lord Pender. As Rudoe surmises, this was presumably Sir John Pender (1816-1896). A man of considerable wealth, Pender was the pioneer of submarine telegraphy, director of the first Atlantic cable company, and in his later years, an MP and Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Royal Geographical Society and Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Rudoe 2003, fn. 3). The price paid for it by Pender is not recorded; however, the gold leaf incised decoration upon the object is of an extremely high standard, greatly superior to that upon the other Venetian reproduction, number **64** in the collection. We may thus infer that an object purchased by a man of Pender's means would have commanded a very

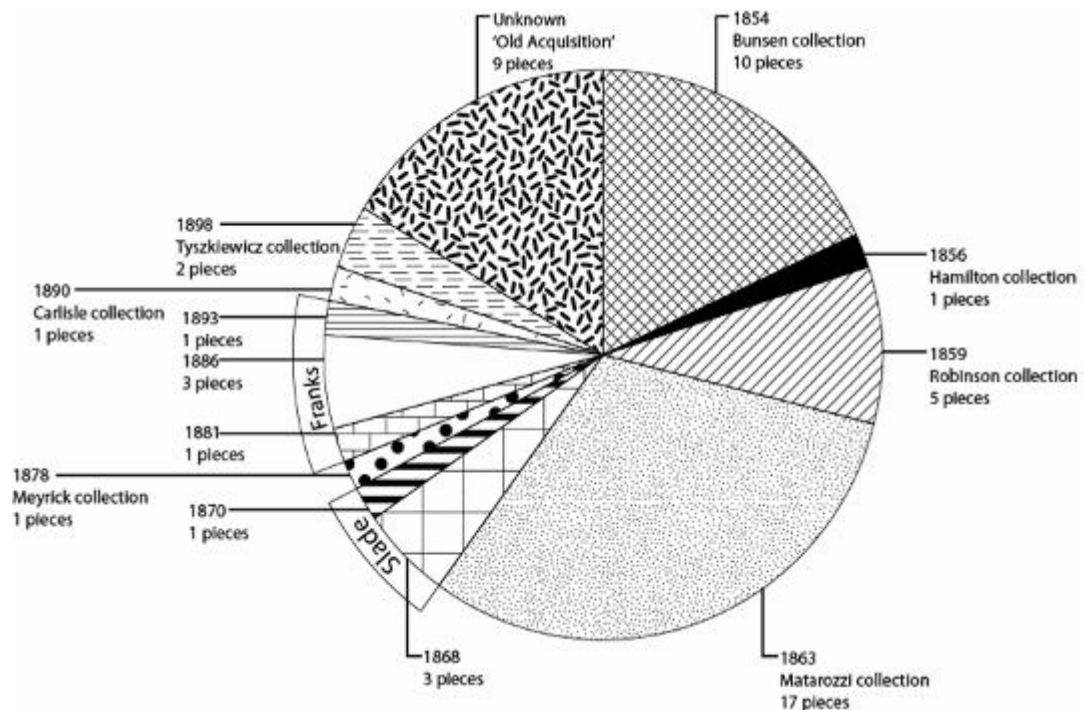
substantial sum. The piece takes the form of a Venetian marriage goblet of the fifteenth century (Rudoe 2003, p. 210) and this is better described as having been inspired by the Late Antique gold glass technique, rather than being an imitation of it. In direct contrast to the motives behind Reed's presentation of the previous piece, the acquisition of this glass by the British Museum in 1998 reflects the desire to represent the taste for historicist glass in the late nineteenth century.

### **The pattern of British Museum acquisitions**

The British Museum collection of Late Antique gold glass was acquired in the mid to late nineteenth century (1854-1898), commencing at a time when the official anti-medieval tide in British museums was beginning to turn (Stratford 1993, pp. 46-51; Finney 2003, p. 193) and largely prior to the escalation in their value. The numbers of gold glasses entering the British Museum collection are represented proportionally by collection and year of acquisition in Figure 5. Multiple donations originating from the same source, notably the Slade and Franks collections are grouped together. The data clearly shows that in the cases where provenance can be precisely ascertained, the vast majority of gold glasses in the collection were acquired prior to the early 1860s. After this date, only individual glasses, many of which are of a small and highly fragmentary nature, entered the museum. The data is highly informative with regard to changing attitudes to the collection of Christian antiquities by nineteenth-century participants in the Grand Tour, particularly between those of differing social classes.

The Grand Tour, which flourished during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, acquainted members of the aristocracy with the great architectural and artistic monuments of Europe, and in particular, those of classical Rome and Italy (Black 1985; Chaney 1998). The Grand Tour also afforded its participants the opportunity to acquire through purchase or plunder the artefacts they encountered. Early participants were of a truly elevated social standing, and a distinct preferential hierarchy can be discerned in terms of the objects they collected. Classical Greek antiquities were preferred over the art and antiquities of classical Rome, which in turn were considered far more desirable than non-classical and prehistoric items. In terms of specific object

types, classical sculptures were valued over vases, whilst gems (intaglios and cameos) were deemed preferable to coins. Medieval and Early Christian antiquities, including gold glass, were largely ignored, and regarded as being of no real artistic merit. Indeed, as late as 1901, Dalton, who championed the study of medieval art in the early twentieth century, stated of gold glass that 'the artistic merit of the glasses was never of a high order; they followed the course of decadence usual in Roman art, and deteriorated with the course of time' (Dalton 1901a, p. 234).



**Figure 5.** Numbers of Late Antique gold glasses entering the British Museum collection, represented proportionally by collection and year of acquisition.

By the 1840s, the expansion of the railways meant that it was now far easier to travel to Rome and Italy. Continental travel became far more widespread, with individuals of less substantial means now able to travel to Rome and Italy in increasing numbers. As a consequence, the range of range of objects also increased. Whilst those of highly substantial means continued to focus their collecting efforts upon classical objects of a truly outstanding nature, to those of lesser standing, Early Christian and medieval antiquities, previously of interest only to Catholic dignitaries and a few local aristocrats, provided a cheaper alternative. Like the collection of pictorial lamps during this period (Greene 1992, p. 17), gold glasses were easily transportable and decorated

in the most part with easily recognisable, in most cases Biblical, figures and scenes. It is certainly significant that the individuals from whom the British Museum acquired its first pieces of gold glass during the 1850s, Bunsen, Hamilton and Robinson, belonged to the later group of collectors of somewhat lesser standing. It should also be noted, however, that only one of these collectors, Robinson, did not have direct connections with, or a specific interest in, the Church or Biblical scholarship.

The greatest change in the purchase of Early Christian antiquities, and particularly gold glass, occurred in 1851 with the establishment of the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra (Ferrua 1968, pp. 251-278). Noted in more detail in the preceding chapter, this commission was accompanied by the strictly-enforced law that everything recovered from the Roman catacombs, the major find place of gold glass, was to pass directly into the Papal collections (Franks 1864, p. 380). As a result, from 1851 examples of gold glass were available to collectors outside the Vatican only from older private collections, which resulted in a steady escalation in the price of gold glass.

The purchase of the Matarozzi collection in 1863 seems to have come right on the cusp of this dramatic increase in price, as is indeed remarked upon by Tyszkiewicz and quoted above (Tyszkiewicz 1898, pp. 40-41). After this, gold glass entering the British Museum did so by way of benefactors of elevated social status and substantial financial means. Even so, many pieces from the collections these individuals, such as Slade, Franks and Nesbitt, are extremely small and fragmentary. The price rise was further effectively demonstrated by the British Museum's purchase of a single gold glass medallion, produced in the brushed technique, the most highly prized gold glass subtype because of its classical style, for a massive £1,200 in 1890 from the Earl of Carlisle. In 1868, a similar brushed technique gold glass medallion with comparative iconography (illustrated below in Figure 33) had been purchased by the South Kensington Museum for a mere £10 from the collection of the London antiquities dealer John Webb.

By the time of the British Museum's purchase of gold glasses from the Tyszkiewicz collection in 1898, even cut and incised gold glasses were reaching huge sums of

money. It is unsurprising that the gold glasses in the British Museum collection prefixed as 'Old Acquisitions', but which were included in Garrucci's 1858 volume as being in the British Museum at this date (**47-48 & 52-55**), are all relatively large well-preserved examples. In contrast, the two fragments not included by Garrucci (**50 & 51**), and by implication not part of the British Museum collection at the publication of his second edition in 1864, are both extremely small and near illegible. It is thus most likely that, in line with the glasses from the Slade, Franks and Nesbitt collections, numbers **50** and **51** entered the museum in the latter part of the nineteenth century, after the massive increase in price, and when large and well preserved fragments of gold glass were in the most part unavailable even to those of considerable wealth. Indeed, by 1878 even the price of reproduction gold glass appears to have been extremely high, being purchased by very wealthy individuals such as Sir John Pender.

The formation of the British Museum collection aptly demonstrates the changing attitudes to gold glass in the nineteenth-century, and provides an excellent model for contemporary collecting trends focused on Christian and early medieval antiquities. Often depicting Christian subjects in a style considered to be rather crude when compared to more popular instances of 'classical' art, gold glasses were generally avoided by wealthy participants of the Grand Tour, and instead purchased by men of lesser means and those specifically interested in the development of Early Christianity. This trend changed dramatically in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when medieval antiquities began to emerge as a popular field of study in its own right. After this, gold glasses could only be purchased by extremely rich individuals, and even then most often only as small fragments. Gold glass was principally valued in terms of iconography, both by those who initially purchased them and by the British Museum who ultimately obtained them. The material considerations and morphology of the objects in the British Museum collection have never before been discussed, and, as such, provide the focus of the following chapter.

### **Chapter 3: Material considerations: morphology and compositional analysis**

Gold glass scholarship has in the past been all but entirely focused on iconography. Comparatively little, and certainly nothing coherent, has been said about the material considerations, including the chemical composition of the glass, the recognisable gold glass subtypes, and the various forms existing within the corpus of published examples. The British Museum collection contains examples of the majority of known gold glass subtypes, including a number of unique examples. Furthermore, the presence of a Department of Science and Conservation within the British Museum allows, for the first time, a detailed scientific analysis of a large number of gold glasses from the collection. This chapter provides the first considered and in-depth examination of gold glass material considerations and morphology. Gold glass profiles are discussed in detail for the first time. The profile of each diagnostic gold glass in the British Museum collection is presented in the catalogue in Appendix 1 and constitutes the largest number of gold glass profile illustrations that have been assembled. A substantive overview of gold glass morphology is followed by a discussion of the compositional analysis data carried out as part of this project. The conclusions drawn provide a point of departure for the analysis of a possible production methodology for the various gold glass subtypes, discussed in Chapter Four.

#### **Gold glass sub-types and object morphology**

In recent years, gold glasses have, with only minor exceptions (e.g. Haevernick 1962), been considered to be the bases of larger vessels, the walls of which having been broken away. This overview certainly holds true for many of the 'cut and incised' gold leaf glasses, but can under no circumstances be universally applied. The publication of gold glass profiles is extremely rare and a coherent categorization of recognizable subtypes and the in-depth discussion of gold glass morphology is completely absent from the literature. Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum collection can be subdivided into three distinct types on the basis of technique and morphology. The

subtypes are discussed below for the first time and appear in descending order according to the total number of each gold glass type contained in the British Museum collection, representative of the corpus published by Morey in 1959.

‘Cut and incised technique’ gold glasses are discussed first. Cut and incised glasses in the British Museum collection can, on the basis of morphology, be further subdivided between sandwich-glass vessel bases, gilded plaques, and diminutive medallion studded vessels. Gilded plaques are identified within this thesis for the first time. A fourth subdivision of cut and incised technique gold glasses constitutes applied cage cups, referred to in this thesis as ‘kantharoi’, and exemplified by the ‘Disch Kantharos’ in the Corning Museum of Glass (inv. no. 66.1.267; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, pp. 253-4, no. 143; Whitehouse 2001, pp. 275-7, no. 867). No example, however, is present in the British Museum collection and as such the subtype is not discussed in detail in this chapter. ‘Cobalt blue backed brushed technique sandwich-glass portrait medallions’ are discussed second, followed by ‘gilt glass-trail technique colourless sandwich-glass vessel bases’. Each subtype is discussed in the context of the British Museum glasses.

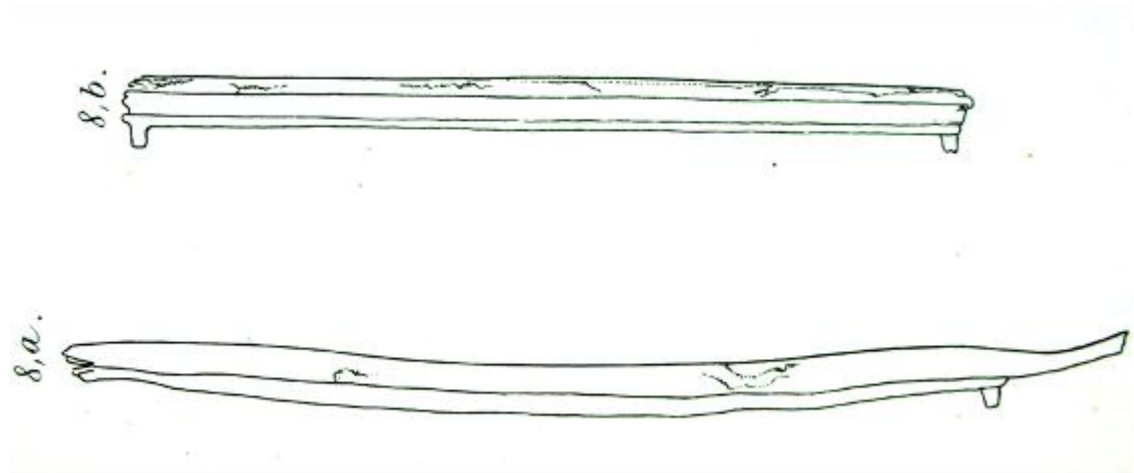
### **Cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessel bases**

The ‘cut and incised’ technique is the term generally applied (e.g. *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 265) to glasses upon which the design has been quite literally cut and incised through the gold leaf applied to a base layer of glass, and then, in most cases, covered and protected by another layer of glass. Cut and incised sandwich-glass vessel bases constitute the most numerous gold glass subtype in the British Museum collection, numbering thirty three pieces in total (nos. **1-4, 6, 12-14, 16-29, 34-35, 37-38, 40-41, 43, 45, 47 & 50**). This is reflective of the worldwide gold glass corpus, where glasses of this type make up the majority. Indeed, it is glasses of this type which spring to mind when the term ‘gold glass’ is mentioned (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 265; Whitehouse 1996, p. 12). Cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessel bases are usually between approximately 50 and 120 millimetres in diameter, with the gold leaf iconography sandwiched between two layers of colourless glass with a greenish tint. The gold leaf image is intended to be viewed from above, that is, by looking into the



vessel, but it can also be viewed in reverse from the underside. In some, but not all examples, small details of the gold leaf are enhanced with over-painted white and or red enamel. Examples of this in the British Museum collection are numbers **1**, **2**, **13**, **19**, **45**, and **46**.

The iconography from cut and incised technique sandwich glass vessel bases were often accurately reproduced upon nineteenth-century Venetian reproduction gold glasses. The Venetian pieces, rather than aiming to produce an exact copy of the original, almost exclusively presented the designs upon a blue or green glass backing, making the iconography appear more pronounced and thus more aesthetically pleasing (e.g. *Reflecting Antiquity* 2007, nos. 52-57). This appears to have been very rarely the case upon the original pieces they attempt to imitate, one possible exception in the British Museum collection being number **46**.



**Figure 6.** Two and three layer cut and incised colourless gold sandwich glass vessel bases illustrated by Garrucci (after Garrucci 1858, pl. 39.8a-b).

Garrucci published the first cut and incised gold glass vessel profiles, reproduced here in Figure 6, in the first 1858 edition of his work on gold glass (Garrucci 1858, pl. 39.8a-b). In both of Garrucci's profiles, the lowermost layer of glass takes the form of a circular layer of glass turned down at the edges to form a foot-ring usually only a few millimetres in height. This is known as a pad base (Price & Cottam 1998, p. 29). The vast majority of glasses in the corpus worldwide follow this pattern, with only a very small number of pieces, such as number **18** in the British Museum collection, having a

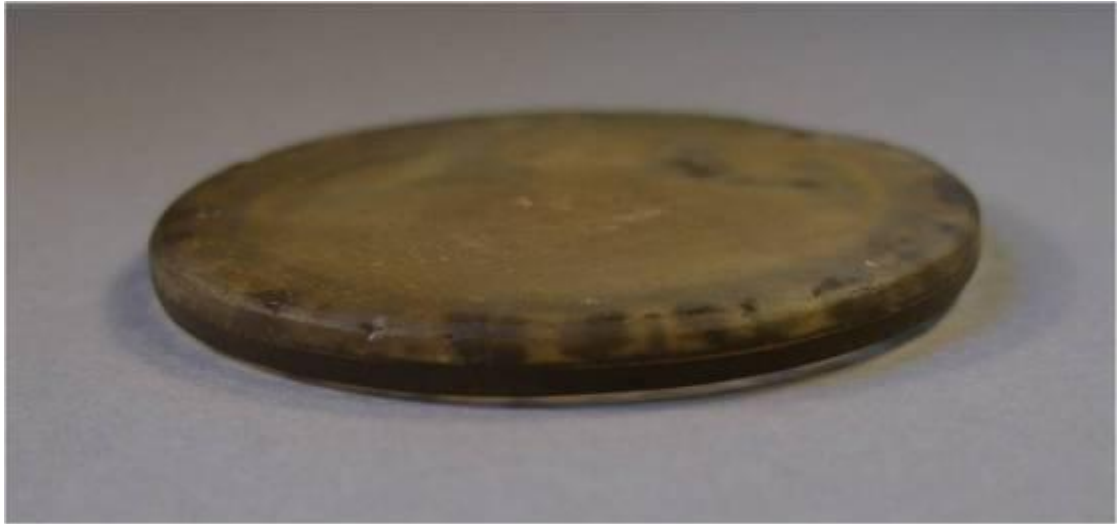
significantly higher foot-ring (the profile illustration for this piece is reproduced in Appendix 1).

The most common cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessel bases comprise of two glass layers, the gold leaf fused between them. Garrucci illustrates this type (Garrucci 1858, pl. 39.8a), but also provides the profile of less frequently occurring glasses consisting of three layers (Garrucci 1858, pl. 39.8b). In the three layer examples, the gold leaf is without exception fused between the lowermost (pad base) and the middle glass layer. In no example does the gold leaf occur fused between the middle and upper layers. Cut and incised technique sandwich glass vessel bases comprising of three layers are illustrated by numbers **12** and **29** in the British Museum collection. The profile of **12** follows closely that of Garrucci. In the case of catalogue number **29**, however, the profile is markedly concave. The piece does not retain its foot ring; however, it would have had to have been of more than average height in order to compensate for the concavity of the base.

Since Garrucci, very few vessel profile illustrations have been published, and this has been to some extent rectified here with the inclusion of profiles for each piece in the British Museum collection appearing in the catalogue accompanying this thesis (Appendix 1). Like those illustrated by Garrucci (Figure 6), few gold glass vessel bases, either in the British Museum or indeed elsewhere, retain substantial traces of vessel walls to give an impression as to what form gold glasses of this type might have taken. This has been largely responsible for the erroneous identification of glasses of this type as medallions, rather than vessel bases by some authors (Aus'm Weerth 1878; Haevernick 1962).

Number **37** in the British Museum collection may, on first sight, be described physically as either a medallion or a disc. Illustrated in Figure 7, the edges have been ground and polished to make it perfectly circular and flat upon either side. This was not done in antiquity, however. Upon closer inspection, it is clear that the grinding has removed the outer areas of the gold leaf design and there is no iridescence or weathering upon the ground edges, despite its being present upon areas of the surface. It is almost certain that, like the others of this type, this glass once formed the base of a vessel and

was only ground down in relatively recent centuries to form a perfectly circular and thus more aesthetically pleasing piece for collectors only interested in gold glass iconography. Indeed, a gold glass vessel base with an almost identical iconographic depiction still retaining small portions of its vessel walls is held in the Vatican museum (inv. no. 0012; illustrated in Morey 1959, no. 42).



**Figure 7.** The ground and polished edges of number **37** in the British Museum collection (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Although not ground and polished, most cut and incised sandwich-glass vessel bases both in the British Museum collection and elsewhere have been closely trimmed along the line of the base disc, through a process known as grozing, to retain only the circular disc incorporating the iconography. Some of the very earliest images of gold glass, produced in the 1670s-80s appear in the 'Museo Cartaceo', or 'Paper Museum', of Cassiano dal Pozzo. Illustrated to a relatively high standard of accuracy, the 'Museo Cartaceo' images in each instance show the glass as a whole, including the broken remains of the vessel itself where present and not just the gold leaf iconography. Reproduced here in Figure 8, the 'Museo Cartaceo' illustration for the gold glass now in the Vatican museum (inv. no. 759 (ex-743)) depicts the piece as still retaining significant portions of its vessel walls, indicative perhaps of it once having been a plate or shallow bowl. The slightly later image of the same piece illustrated in Buonarruoti's 1716 monograph (Figure 8 insert), reveals that the fragmentary vessel walls had been

grozed during the intervening period (Buonarruoti 1716 pl. XVIII.3). Buonarruoti's image illustrates the object close to how it appears today (Morey 1959, pl. XIV, no. 85).



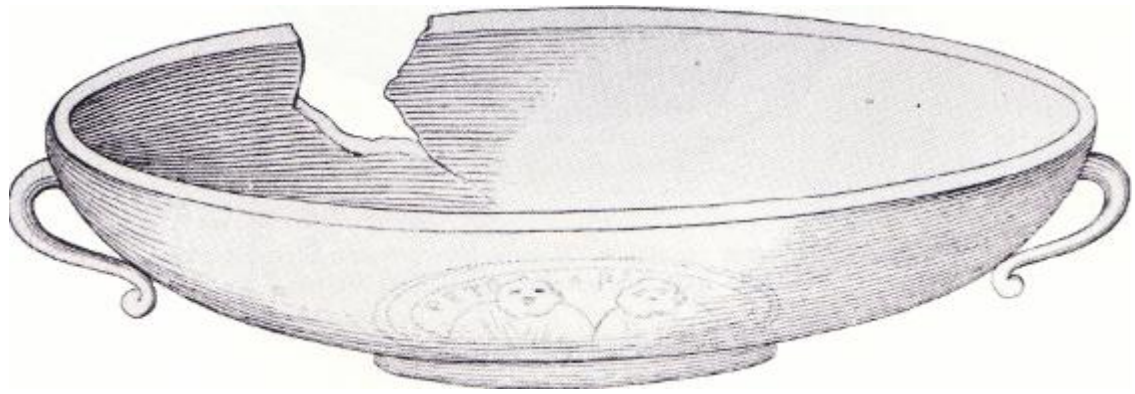
**Figure 8.** Late seventeenth-century Italian illustration of gold glass inv. no. 759 (ex-743) in the Vatican museum collection from the *Museo Cartaceo* of Cassiano dal Pozzo Watercolour, with gold powder in Gum Arabic, pen and ink (113 x 100 mm, after Osborne & Claridge 1998, no. 256, p. 216) and (insert) Buonarruoti's 1716 illustration of the same piece (after Buonarruoti 1716, pl. XVIII. 3).

The same can be demonstrated for quite a number of gold glasses. 'Museo Cartaceo' illustrations and more recent photographs of such pieces appear juxtaposed, but not remarked upon, in Osborne and Claridge (Osborne & Claridge 1998, nos. 249, 252, 265, 269 & 277). Furthermore, close examination of all grozed pieces in the British Museum suggests that the tight grozing was carried out relatively recently. Upon every piece in the collection there is, for example, a complete lack of iridescence upon the

grozed surface despite it appearing elsewhere upon many of the glasses. In the case of number **1** in this catalogue efforts were made to remove both the fragmentary excess and the foot-ring. A heavy scored groove appears upon both sides of the piece along the inside edge of the foot-ring. When the removal of the foot-ring by scoring proved to be of no avail, however, the piece was grozed in the usual fashion. In the case of each grozed British Museum gold glass, the process was carried out prior to their accurate illustration by Garrucci in 1858 and 1864. Rather than having been undertaken exclusively in Late Antiquity, the process of closely grozing gold glasses down to the line of the base-disc may have been carried out by antiquarian collectors or dealers in a significant number of instances.

At least some gold glasses were certainly inserted into the catacomb wall plaster as closely trimmed vessel bases. In a number of instances, these have been set into the wet wall plaster so that the trimmed edges of the base disc have been in part covered by it (e.g. Vatican Museum inv. no. 619 (ex-771); Morey 1959, p. 17, pl. XI, no. 68), demonstrating that the object was indeed closely trimmed in antiquity and not at a later date by subsequent antiquarians and collectors. Other gold glass vessel bases have been recovered closely trimmed to the line of their base-discs deposited in burials outside the catacombs, such as at Aquileia in Italy (see Appendix 2). Indeed, although certainly not produced from the outset as medallions, these pieces may have been trimmed some considerable time before their eventual deposition and the process was thus not restricted exclusively to later antiquarians.

Reproduced below in Figure 9, in 1720, Boldetti illustrated an example which he claimed was one of several to have been found in the Roman catacombs, only to be broken in his enthusiastic attempts to remove it from the plaster (Boldetti 1720, pp. 191-92). Boldetti's complete vessel illustration has been met with some scepticism in comparatively recent literature (e.g. Barag 1970, p. 99; Auth 1979, p. 37, fn. 16). Nevertheless, whilst the deposition of complete gold glass vessels in the walls of the catacombs certainly may not have happened in every instance, a rare example of a near-complete vessel approximating to Boldetti's illustration is present in the Vatican Museum collection, still embedded in the plaster (inv. no. 621 (ex-763); Morey 1959, p. 5, pl. II, no. 11).



**Figure 9.** Boldetti's illustration of the gold glass vessel he claimed to have found in the catacombs of Rome (after Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pl. 203.11, based on an illustration in Boldetti 1720, p. 191, cap. XXXIX).

A further significant example retaining much of its vessel wall in the Vatican Museum (inv. no. 775 (ex-735)), has been illustrated by Morey (1959, pl. XIII, no. 71). Largely passed over in all previous discussion of sandwich-glass vessel form, the original shape of the vessel is clearly revealed to have been a shallow bowl, similar to that illustrated by Boldetti (Figure 9). Furthermore, Boldetti's illustration does appear similar to the large but fragmentary piece illustrated above (Figure 8) in the *Museo Cartaceo*, and another illustrated by Garrucci (Garrucci 1872-1880, pl. 188.8). Despite steep-sided tumbler-style drinking vessels being a possibility in a small number of instances (e.g. Foy & Nenna 2001, no. 399), the majority, in particular those with pictorial iconography rather than a short inscription alone, are likely to have taken the form of shallow bowls. Shallow bowl profiles certainly seem most probable based upon the few British Museum pieces upon which fragments of vessel walls survive (e.g. nos. 20 & 24-5; see profiles illustrated in the Appendix 1 catalogue). In many instances in the British Museum collection, however, the profiles reveal that the concave vessel base is lower than the height of the foot-ring (e.g. nos. 1, 20, 23-4, 19, 20, 24, 27, 35 & 40). This means that the bowl could not have been stable when placed on a flat surface.

### **Cut and incised technique gilt-glass plaques**

Although closely akin in style and technique, cut and incised technique gilded-glass plaques are recognized as distinct from sandwich-glass vessel bases in this thesis for

the first time. In total, the British Museum has four fragmentary examples of gilded-glass plaques, numbered **5**, **15**, **36** and **52**. Larger than the vessel bases, gilded plaques have a diameter in every instance exceeding fifteen centimetres. Upon a backing of colourless glass with a slight greenish tint, the gold leaf, occasionally like vessel bases with specific details highlighted in over-painted enamel, is not fused below an overlaying protecting layer of glass. The majority of past scholars, following Garrucci and Dalton who published examples of these pieces for the first time, have regarded gilded glass plaques as the bottom of very large cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessel bases which had lost their covering layer of glass (Dalton 1901b, p. 121, no. 611).

This is certainly in error. No traces of there ever having been a fused cover layer of glass exist upon any of the plaques in the British Museum collection. Indeed, although the gold leaf upon the majority of cut and incised technique gilded-glass plaques is much abraded, the removal of any fused cover layer of glass would have destroyed the gold leaf entirely. On cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessel bases in the British Museum collection where the fused cover layer of glass has been removed, only a fragmentary portion of the upper glass layer has broken away. The gold leaf iconography underneath has been rendered completely illegible as a result. This is well-illustrated by number **13** in the British Museum collection. A similar scenario can be suggested for numbers **14** and **51**. Further to this, each of the British Museum pieces is extremely thin; indeed, the pieces have in each instance fragmented into several pieces. Considering their wide diameter, they are far too thin to have ever served as vessel bases. The above, in my view, effectively demonstrates that the gold glasses categorized here as plaques never formed the bases of sandwich-glass vessels.

Outside the British Museum collection, cut and incised gilded-glass plaques appear only to exist in the Vatican Museum collection (inv. nos. 60788 (ex-345) & 787 (ex-344); Morey 1959, pl. XVI, nos. 96 & 97 respectively) and in situ in the Catacomb of Panfilo (Morey 1959, pl. XXIV, no. 224). No example of cut and incised gilded-glass plaques either in the British Museum collection or elsewhere now retains its original edge. However, an illustration of one piece in the Vatican Museum is preserved which appears to show the original edge of the object, now missing from the original glass

(inv. no. 787 (ex-344); Morey 1959, pl. XXIV, no. 97). The image, published in Garrucci's 1864 volume, appears to show a slight lip; however, it is in no way clear (after Garrucci 1864, pl. XXXIII). If a lip is shown, it would indicate that the disc of glass constitutes the flattened base of a blown parison of glass with downturned edges, identical to the pad base-discs of cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessels. It would furthermore suggest that time was not taken to carefully remove this lip and grind the glass down to form a flat plate of glass.

### **Cut and incised technique diminutive medallions and diminutive medallion studded vessels**

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallions constitute the second most numerous gold glass subtype after sandwich-glass vessel bases in Morey's 1959 catalogue, a trend reflected in the British Museum collection. Gold glass diminutive medallions, whilst technically and stylistically akin to other cut and incised gold glass types, are distinctly different in form from both sandwich-glass vessel bases and gilded plaques. In the corpus of gold glass known worldwide, cut and incised technique diminutive medallions principally exist as separate individual 'blobs'. In total, fourteen separate individual diminutive medallion blobs exist within the British Museum collection (nos. **7-11**, **30-33**, **42**, **48** & **53-55**), each measuring approximately 20-25 millimetres in diameter. Upon each piece, the cut and incised gold leaf iconography is sandwiched between a coloured 'blobbed' glass backing layer upon the reverse, and an overlaying colourless layer of glass with a greenish tint, through which the image is viewed. Reflective of the published corpus as a whole, diminutive medallions in the British Museum collection most often have a cobalt blue or green glass backing. Other colours, including amber (**8**) and purple (**48**) in the British Museum collection, occur far less frequently. Unlike the cut and incised sandwich-glass vessel bases and gilded plaques discussed above, no gold glass diminutive medallion has over-painted enamel details.

Diminutive medallions originally appeared as studs on vessel walls (e.g. Figure 10), rather than existing simply as small individual medallions. In almost every example



within the British Museum collection, the edges of the colourless cover layer of glass appear jagged where the vessel wall has been grozed or cut away. Upon one single example, number **32** in the British Museum collection, the edges of the diminutive medallion have been carefully ground and polished. In the case of this particular example, this was not carried out in antiquity. Like the vessel base number **37** discussed above, upon closer inspection it is clear that the grinding has unintentionally removed the outer areas of the gold leaf design, and was thus most likely carried out comparatively recently.



**Figure 10.** The cut and incised diminutive medallion studded St Severin bowl (**39**) viewed from the obverse (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The late seventeenth-century ‘Museo Cartaceo’ illustrates a single diminutive medallion from the Vatican museum (inv. no. 646 (ex-217); Morey 1959, no. 133) still retaining a portion of its vessel wall. Like the vessel base reproduced here in Figure 8, however, by the time it was illustrated in Buonarruoti’s 1716 monograph, the excess fragments of the vessel wall surrounding the medallion had been trimmed away. The ‘Museo Cartaceo’ image is presented alongside a photograph of how the piece appears today in Osborne and Claridge (Osborne & Claridge 1998, p. 255, no. 282). Like many cut and incised technique gold glass vessels, individual diminutive medallions have also

been recorded as having been inserted into the walls of the catacombs. This indicates that although the complete diminutive medallion studded vessel had been broken, at least some of the individual medallions had nonetheless been retained prior to their deposition (Morey 1959, p. 51, pl. XXVIII, no. 294).



**Figure 11.** The cut and incised diminutive medallion studded St Severin bowl (39) viewed from the reverse (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The only near complete cut and incised technique diminutive medallion studded vessel that has been recorded anywhere in the world is that commonly known as the St Severin bowl in the British Museum collection, catalogued in Appendix 1 as number **39**. Illustrated from the obverse in Figure 10 above, the iconography is intended to be viewed from the inside of the vessel. The reverse of the St Severin bowl is illustrated below in Figure 11. The two preserved fragments of the vessel contain a total of twenty one diminutive medallions with cobalt blue and green backings. Twelve of the diminutive medallions are of the more usual type, being approximately 20-25 millimetres in diameter, whilst a further nine medallions of a considerably smaller size, approximately 10 millimetres diameter, appear as spacers between them. In other collections, these smaller spacer medallions can be paralleled in only one individual

example in the Vatican Museum (inv. no. 688 (ex-206); Morey 1959, pl. XXI, no. 174). The St Severin bowl clearly illustrates the manner in which sequences of individual diminutive medallions were applied to the wall of a single vessel, the gold leaf iconography being viewed from the inside.



**Figure 12.** Traces of a three line gilded inscription upon the outside of the larger fragment of the St Severin bowl (39) vessel wall (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

In addition to the diminutive medallions, the faint traces of three lines of a gilded inscription are discernible upon the outside of the vessel wall upon both the larger and the smaller of the remaining fragments. Visible in a colour enhanced image in Figures 12 and 13 below (illustrating the larger and smaller fragments respectively), this inscription is noted and illustrated here for the first time. On both fragments, the inscription occurs almost directly between two diminutive medallions nearest to the mouth of the bowl. As such, it is reasonable to assume that this three line inscription ran between the uppermost diminutive medallions around the complete circumference of the vessel, now lost. On the smaller fragment, linear indications of gold leaf also occur around the inscription, which is visible slightly above the '81' of the applied museum inventory number showing as white in the illustration (Figure 13). Being gilded, but not sandwiched between protecting layers of glass, nothing of the

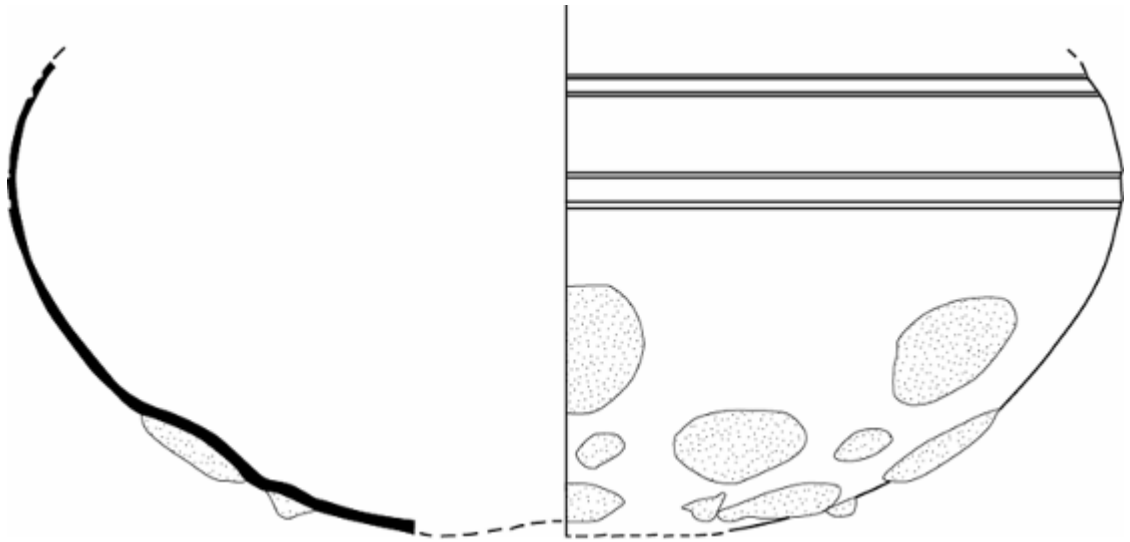
original gold leaf remains. However, the glass has weathered around the edges of where the individual letters had once been. The letters are thus just visible as areas where less weathering has occurred, however, no sense can now be made of the complete inscription.



**Figure 13.** Traces of a three line gilded inscription upon the outside of the smaller fragment of the St Severin bowl (39) vessel wall (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The reconstructed vessel profile of the St Severin bowl was first presented by Barag in 1970, who illustrated it as a rather deep flat bottomed bowl with relatively steep walls turning slightly inwards at the top (Barag 1970, fig. 1). Illustrated in Figure 14, Barag's profile was manipulated for the 1987 'Glass of the Caesars' exhibition catalogue, where the bowl was redrawn, because the author's interpretation of minimal wear on the lower surface suggested that it had not been absolutely flat, but rather to have been slightly pushed in (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 279, no. 154). My own careful re-examination of the St Severin bowl leaves me in disagreement with the 'Glass of the Caesars' interpretation of an indented vessel base; there seems no question that the vessel originally had a flattened base. However, the parallel wheel-cut linear grooves running around the rim of the vessel, when positioned horizontally, do indicate that the vessel profile was relatively deep and steep-sided, akin to the 'Glass of the Caesars'

profile. This is perhaps surprising considering that the iconography was intended to be viewed from inside.



**Figure 14.** The reconstructed profile of the St Severin bowl (after *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 279, no. 154, © Trustees of the British Museum).



**Figure 15.** The St Severin bowl (detail) as it was illustrated by Aus'm Weerth in 1864 showing, highlighted, the small third rim fragment for which the whereabouts are currently unknown (after Aus'm Weerth 1864, pl. III.1).

A detail from the earliest illustration of the St Severin bowl, produced shortly after its initial discovery in 1864 (Aus'm Weerth 1864, pl. III.3) is reproduced here in Figure 15 above. The illustration clearly shows the smaller of the two fragments of the vessel



now in the British Museum. However, highlighted in Figure 15, it also depicts a third much smaller fragment not present in the British Museum collection. From the illustration, which places it adjoining to the smaller of the two fragments that survive today, this third piece incorporates both wheel cut lines running around the mouth of the vessel, and what appears to be a very short length of the rim of the vessel itself. The fragment is missing from the illustration of the St Severin bowl presented by Garrucci in the third volume of his *‘Storia dell’ arte cristiana’*, produced in 1876 (Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 170.1). The current whereabouts of this small fragment are today still unknown.

Garrucci’s illustration of the St Severin bowl suggested that there were thirteen missing diminutive medallions, giving the vessel a total of thirty four medallions (Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 170.1). My own careful re-examination of the arrangement of the diminutive medallions on the St Severin bowl, paying particular attention to the colour of the medallions and in which order those colours appear, instead suggests that a total of forty diminutive medallions were originally present. The diminutive medallions on the St Severin bowl were not randomly placed, but are instead ordered into three concentric circles of larger medallions. These are interspersed with two concentric circles of smaller medallions. The blue and green diminutive medallions are alternated, again conforming to an ordered layout. A reconstruction of the St Severin bowl including the colour coded pattern of diminutive medallions as I interpret it to be is discussed in detail and presented in Chapter Seven, Figure 68.

The outer circle comprises of eight large medallions, four of each colour and alternating between green and blue. The central circle includes a further eight larger medallions, interspersed with eight smaller ones. The colours are again alternated; a green larger medallion is followed by a smaller one of the same colour, which in turn is followed by a large and then small blue medallion, and so on. The final inner circle consists of a further eight large and eight small medallions. Logically, and based on the remaining medallions on the larger of the surviving fragments, the large and small medallions would have been presented as an alternating pattern of four medallions of each colour, two of each size. When viewed from above, the medallion sequence as a

whole takes the form of an eight pointed star. No reconstruction of the St Severin bowl conforming to the colour coded sequence of medallions as they appear upon the remaining fragments is possible with fewer than forty medallions.

Cut and incised gold leaf diminutive medallion studded vessels when viewed from the outside (Figure 11) constitute a wonderfully innovative reworking of an already popular contemporary glass form commonly referred to in the literature as ‘blobbed’ vessels. Vessels of this type have been recovered in profusion from throughout the Roman Empire and beyond and were produced in a wide variety of forms including bowls and cups but also other shapes, such as double sided spheroid flasks and drinking horns. The best illustrated overview of blobbed vessels is provided by Fremersdorf (Fremersdorf 1962). Like gold glass diminutive medallions, the blobs applied to the wall of the vessels, but, crucially, not sandwiching gold leaf iconography between the two, are most often cobalt blue in colour. However, they also occur in green and, less often, brownish yellow or indeed a combination of colours upon a single vessel. An excellent example of one of these blobbed vessels, taking the form of a shallow bowl, like the St Severin bowl and indeed most probably the majority of gold glass diminutive medallion studded vessels is currently in the collection of the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne (inv. no. RGM N150; Fremersdorf 1962, no. 46/47; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, no. 48). Like the St Severin bowl, the applied blobs conform to a specific, and indeed similar, colour-coded pattern upon the walls of the vessel, and effectively demonstrate the relationship of gold glass diminutive medallion studded vessels to other contemporary forms.

### **Brushed technique cobalt blue-backed sandwich-glass portrait medallions**

The ‘brushed technique’, first applied by Morey in 1942, is the term now generally applied to cobalt blue-backed sandwich-glass portrait medallions. Essentially, the brushed technique of gold leaf incision differs little from the more common cut and incised technique noted above. The iconography is again produced upon the gold leaf through a series of incisions; however, in the case of the ‘brushed technique’ these are extremely small in size and are undertaken with gem cutter’s precision. These incisions

lend themselves to a chiaroscuro like that of a fine steel engraving and simulate brush strokes (Morey 1942, p. 127). Because of their classical style, brushed technique portrait medallions received considerable attention from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century forgers, and were produced to varying degrees of excellence in considerable numbers. Two examples of these forgeries are known to be present within the British Museum collection, numbered **55** and **56**; they are discussed with regard to their morphology in Chapter Four.



**Figure 16.** The obverse of the brushed technique portrait medallion number **44** in the British Museum collection, illustrating the accurately ground and bevelled edge and the covering iridescence (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Only one genuine brushed technique cobalt blue backed sandwich glass portrait medallion, catalogued here as number **44**, is present within the British Museum collection. The gold leaf iconography of this piece appears sandwiched between two fused layers of glass, the translucency of the cobalt blue lowest layer giving prominence to the image. ‘Glass of the Caesars’ considered the British Museum medallion to have been cast and ground (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, no. 153). However, my own close examination of the piece reveals that slight undulations are present upon the reverse, indicative of the cobalt blue base-layer having initially been a blown parison, and subsequently flattened as it cooled. Unlike the cut and incised vessel base number **37**, illustrated above in Figure 7, the edges of the British Museum brushed technique medallion have been bevelled and ground down in a highly uniform



manner, depicted here from above in Figure 16, and from below in Figure 17. A significant degree of weathering extends across the reverse of the piece, covering also the bevelled edge suggesting that this was carried out in antiquity and that it was intended from the start to be a medallion.



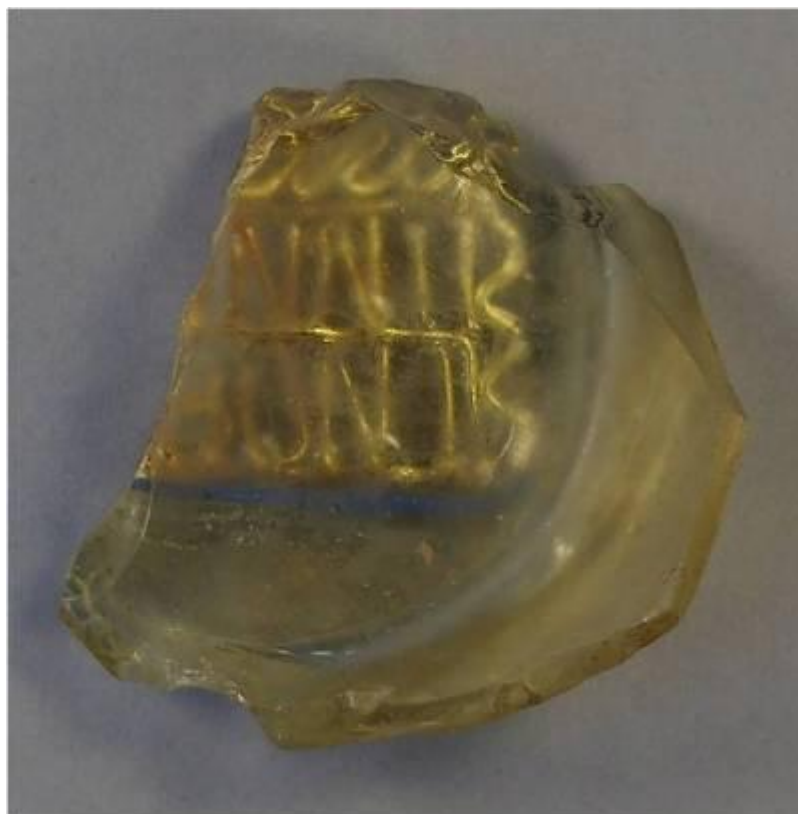
**Figure 17.** The reverse of the brushed technique portrait medallion number **44** in the British Museum collection, illustrating the accurately ground and bevelled edge and the covering iridescence (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The morphology of the British Museum brushed technique cobalt blue-backed sandwich-glass portrait medallion with its ground and bevelled edge compares closely with the small group of other brushed technique medallions with secure provenances, including the piece still in situ in the Catacomb of Panfilo. Upon each piece, including that in the British Museum collection, the gold leaf image is set within a thin, perfectly circular single line frame, and takes the form of a highly naturalistic quarter-length bust portrait of one or more individuals. In the absence of a detailed study of brushed technique gold glasses, authentic examples are considered in this thesis to be those both physically and iconographically akin to the British Museum gold glass number **44**.

#### **Gilt-glass trail inscription sandwich-glass vessel bases**

The term ‘gilt-glass trail’ has been generally applied (e.g. Filippini 1995) to vessel bases, consisting of two fused layers of colourless green-tinted glass, sandwiching between

them a cartouche containing an inscription. Both the cartouche and the inscription are formed of glass threads or 'trail' gilt with gold leaf. The inscriptions were meant to be viewed from above when looking into the vessel and in every instance take the form of drinking toasts. Upon each of the examples known to me, the gilt glass trails have been, where possible, applied in individual short straight sections forming the letters of the inscription. In longer sections, the gilding appears cracked and in some instances has been largely rubbed away where the trail has been bent to a curve. The bottommost line of the cartouche is usually, although not exclusively formed of a single un-gilt trail of coloured glass. The British Museum collection contains only one fragmentary example, numbered in this thesis as **49** and illustrated in Figure 18.



**Figure 18.** The gilt-glass trail inscription sandwich-glass vessel base number **49** in the British Museum collection, reading ANNI BONI (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Only approximately fifteen other examples are recorded in museum collections throughout the world, making gilt-glass trail inscription sandwich-glass vessel bases a relatively rare gold glass subtype. Of the fifteen gilt-glass trail vessels catalogued by Filippini (1995, pp. 119-125), the inscriptions and cartouches of five of them are

comprised of colourless gilt-glass trail only. In the other examples, a coloured glass trail was also included. Blue, was recorded only on the British Museum piece (49). Opaque white was also only recorded in one example by Filippini (1995, p. 118). In addition, a further unpublished piece with a single trail of red glass is known to me from the private London collection of David Giles. Filippini also notes glasses where combinations of two of these colours are present on the same piece (Filippini 1995, p. 118).

In contrast to the majority of other gold glass subtypes, a sizable number of gilt-glass trail sandwich-glass vessel profiles have been published (many of these profiles are reproduced in Filippini 1995, pp. 119-125). These vessels have in a significant number of instances not been grozed to retain only the vessel base containing the cartouche and inscription. Sizable portions of the vessel walls have thus been retained upon many pieces. Two of gilt-glass trail sandwich-glasses have survived as complete vessels. One takes the form of a shallow bowl, now in the Musée de la Société Anonyme Belge des Mines in Aljustrel (Portugal), and is of a very similar form suggested above for cut and incised gold leaf vessels (Alarcão 1968, fig. 3). A somewhat deeper bowl, now in the Aquincumi Muzeum in Budapest, has also survived as a complete vessel (Barkóczy 1988, no. 26). In contrast, the British Museum example (49) would appear from its surviving vessel wall fragments (the profile illustration is presented in Appendix 1) to have taken the form of a tumbler style vessel. Other gilt glass trail glasses upon which larger portions of the vessel wall survive, most notably from the Musée du Petit Palais in Paris (inv. no. A.DUT 244 & A.DUT 254), take the form of steep sided cups and fluted beakers as opposed to wide bowls.

### **Scientific analysis**

The scientific analysis of the British Museum gold glasses was undertaken as part of this project, and was funded by the British Museum. The work was carried out in the British Museum Department of Science and Conservation by Andrew Meek (unpublished British Museum Science Report Project Number 7434), using X-ray fluorescence (XRF) and electron microscopy with energy-dispersive X-ray analysis

(SEM/EDX). The SEM/EDX data for five gold glass fragments from the Corning Museum of glass have been published (Brill 1999, p. 141: V AC). Unpublished (SEM/EDX) data also exists for six gold glasses in the Ashmolean Museum collection (Henderson, personal communication with D. T. Howells). However, the results have not been analysed. The preliminary analysis of the much larger British Museum data set in this thesis thus constitutes the first discussion of Late Antique gold glass composition.

X-ray fluorescence (XRF) is a non-destructive technique which analyses the surface composition of materials, in this case glass. The analysis is, however, limited. During the process of XRF analysis, a beam of X-rays directed at the object under analysis forces it to re-emit X-rays. The intensity of energy given off is then measured to indicate the chemicals present and their relative abundance (Henderson 2000, pp. 14-16). Except for numbers **45** and **54** which were unavailable at the time of analysis, each of the British Museum gold glasses was examined using this method. Electron microscopy with energy-dispersive X-ray analysis (SEM/EDX) data provides more detailed quantitative compositional information, and aids the further interpretation of the XRF data. SEM/EDX is a destructive analytical technique, requiring small samples of glass to be taken from each object. To facilitate the analysis of British Museum glasses by SEM/EDX, small samples were taken (where possible) from the edges of pieces in the museum reserve collection. The more fragmentary objects did not need to be sampled as small flaking pieces of glass were readily available from them. In total, samples were taken from twenty British Museum gold glasses (nos. 3-5, 12-16, 18, 20, 23, 34-36, 38, 40, 49-53) for SEM/EDX analysis.

Colourless glass in the Roman period was in some cases produced through the careful selection of low-iron high-purity sands (Jackson 2005, p. 764). Indeed, Pliny specifically mentions sand from the River Volturno for colourless glass production (*Natural History* XXXVI, pp. 192–5). In the absence of select sands, an alternative way of making colourless glass is to add a ‘decolourizer’, either antimony or manganese, which decolourize glass by oxidising the iron. The XRF analysis carried out by Andrew Meek on the glasses from the British Museum collection showed that Late Antique gold glasses were decoloured with antimony and/or manganese, and contain calcium, iron lead and strontium in varying quantities.

Decolourant used:					
ANTIMONY		MIXTURE		MANGANESE	
Catalogue no.	BM acc no.	Catalogue no.	BM acc no.	Catalogue no.	BM acc no.
<b>(5)</b>	1854.7-22. 8	<b>2</b>	1854.7-22. 4	<b>1</b>	1854.7-22. 3
<b>7</b>	1854.7-22. 14	<b>10</b>	1854.7-22. 17	<b>(3)</b>	1854.7-22. 5
<b>(14)</b>	1859.6-18. 3	<b>11</b>	1856.4-25. 1	<b>(4)</b>	1854.7-22. 6
<b>(15)</b>	1859.6-18. 4	<b>27</b>	1863.7-27.11	<b>6</b>	1854.7-22.11
<b>(16)</b>	1859.6-18. 5	<b>30</b>	1863.7-27. 14	<b>8</b>	1854.7-22. 15
<b>33</b>	1863.7-27. 17	<b>31</b>	1863.7-27. 15	<b>9</b>	1854.7-22. 16
<b>(34)</b>	S120	<b>32</b>	1863.7-27. 16	<b>(12)</b>	1859.6-18. 1
<b>(36)</b>	S317	<b>(35)</b>	S121	<b>(13)</b>	1859.6-18. 2
<b>39</b>	1881.6-24. 1	<b>(40)</b>	1886.11-17. 330	<b>17</b>	1863.7-27. 1
<b>44</b>	1890.9-1. 1	<b>42</b>	1886.11-17. 332	<b>(18)</b>	1863.7-27. 2
<b>46</b>	1898.7-19.2	<b>53</b>	OA4308	<b>19</b>	1863.7-27.3
<b>(49)</b>	OA858	<b>55</b>	OA4310	<b>(20)</b>	1863.7-27. 4
<b>(51)</b>	OA864			<b>21</b>	1863.7-27.5
<b>(52)</b>	OA867			<b>22</b>	1863.7-27. 6
				<b>(23)</b>	1863.7-27. 7
				<b>24</b>	1863.7-27. 8
				<b>25</b>	1863.7-27.9
				<b>26</b>	1863.7-27. 10
				<b>28</b>	1863.7-27. 12
				<b>29</b>	1863.7-27. 13
				<b>37</b>	1870.06-6. 12
				<b>(38)</b>	1878.11-1. 305
				<b>41</b>	1886.11-17. 331
				<b>43</b>	1893.4-26. 183
				<b>47</b>	OA856
				<b>48</b>	OA857
				<b>(50)</b>	OA860

**Figure 19.** Basic tabulated scientific data for analyzed British Museum gold glasses indicating the decolourant used for each. Catalogue numbers in brackets indicate SEM/EDX analysis (analysis carried out by Andrew Meek).

The major compositional differences discernable from the XRF analysis were the use of decolourants. These fall into three distinct groups, those decoloured with antimony, those decoloured with manganese, and those that were decoloured using a mixture of both. The gold glasses in the British Museum collection falling into each of these groups are tabulated above in Figure 19. As suggested by the XRF analysis of these objects, SEM/EDX was able to confirm that certain of the glasses were decoloured using antimony, whilst others were decoloured using manganese and a small number of pieces were decoloured using a mixture of both. Although it has not been presented here, the data from Brill (1999, p. 141: V AC) and Henderson (personal communication with D. T. Howells) adheres to the same pattern.

From one of the glasses, number **23** in the collection, samples were taken from both the obverse and reverse glass layers. Number **23** has a badly fractured lower base-disc layer, and an intact upper layer of glass. It is illustrative of a number of gold glasses in the corpus worldwide seen to have one badly fractured layer and one intact layer. In every instance known to me, the fractured layer is the base-disc. The fractures furthermore take the form of multiple half-circular cracks (number **23** is illustrated in Appendix 1). It was initially thought that this was the result of some compositional difference that caused the glass to behave differently during the fusing process. However, when the two layers of number **23** were analysed, they were found to be so similar in composition that that they very likely came from the same glass batch.

### **Summary and discussion**

The corpus of material collectively referred to by scholars as ‘gold glass’ can, on the basis of examples in the British Museum collection, be divided into at least three distinct subtypes on the basis of technique. Based on morphology, cut and incised technique gold glasses can be again divided into at least three subtypes: sandwich-glass vessel bases, gilded-glass plaques, and diminutive medallion studded vessels. Despite this, however, the scientific analysis show marked differences within the otherwise technically and morphologically identical cut and incised technique subtype groups concerning the use of decolourants. This does not provide a basis for further

subdivision. In their widely-referenced model (Jackson 2005, p. 765), Sayre and Smith found that colourless glasses from the Syrian coast are characterized by the increasing use of manganese rather than antimony as a decolourant in the Late Roman Period (Sayre & Smith 1961). Sayre and Smith later went on to demonstrate that in Italy (and northern Europe), glasses were generally decolourized with either antimony or a mixture of antimony and manganese until the end of the third century, when an increase in the use of manganese as a decolourant can be observed (Sayre & Smith 1967; Smith 1971, p. 616).

Gold glass cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessel bases, gilded plaques and diminutive medallions have, in past scholarship, all been dated to the fourth century AD. This is also the approximate date in which antimony, whilst still being used as a decolourant, was beginning to be replaced by manganese in increasing quantities. It is not surprising therefore, that the raw glass batches used in the production of gold glass should adhere exclusively to one decolourant type. In the case of glasses where a mixture of antimony and manganese has been used as a decolourant, it is certainly possible that both oxides were used together intentionally. In contrast, although it is unlikely that antimony could have been added accidentally as a contaminant of the raw materials used to produce the glass batch, this is not so in the case of manganese (Jackson 2005, p. 764). Manganese occurs naturally and in relatively significant quantities in the sands from the River Volturno in Italy. It is also possible that the presence of both antimony and manganese in single gold glass samples is the result of the glass batch including recycled glass cullet.

Only one brushed technique cobalt blue-backed sandwich-glass portrait medallion **(44)** and one gilt-glass trail sandwich-glass vessel fragment **(49)** are present within the British Museum collection. Both glasses were found to have been decoloured using antimony. Both sub-types have in the past been tentatively ascribed to the third century, a date that is examined in detail and ultimately upheld in Chapter Nine of this thesis. Based upon the model of Sayre and Smith (1967), it is unsurprising then that glasses of this earlier date are decoloured with antimony. However, it is unfortunate that samples from more glasses of these two types held in other museum collections have not been analysed, and without further data, no firm conclusions can be drawn.

Presented for the first time in this chapter, the detailed analysis of gold glass morphology and composition provides a basis for the examination of gold glass production methodology and relative cost treated in Chapter Four.



## **Chapter 4: Making gold glass: past attempts and new experimental reproductions**

The production methodology of Late Antique gold glasses has been of considerable interest to scholars, artists and forgers since they were first recovered from the catacombs in the seventeenth century onwards and subsequently publicised in published works. Few practical attempts, however, have met with any real success. This chapter briefly examines past attempts at gold glass reproduction from published works, and, with special emphasis upon the objects in the British Museum collection, the results of some of these attempts as well as fakes and forgeries. This is followed by a detailed reading of the medieval accounts of working with glass and gold leaf cited by some of these early scholars in their attempts at reproducing the gold glass technique. The working practices noted in the medieval accounts, the direct observation of past experimental attempts at reproducing the gold glass technique and the experiences reported by their makers, forms the basis for my own program of experimental gold glass reproduction. This constitutes the most extensive examination of gold glass production methodology hitherto undertaken, and is discussed in regard to each of the separate gold glass subtypes identified in the previous chapter. The results inform an analysis of the perceived material value of gold glass in Late Antiquity.

### **Reproduction attempts of the recent past**

Attempts to reproduce Late Antique gold glass vessel bases and medallions by scholars and other academics began in late seventeenth century. This was perhaps, as Dalton suggests, inspired by the contemporary exploration of the catacombs and the discoveries made there (Dalton 1901a, p. 251). In 1679, Kunckel reported his unsuccessful attempt to sandwich gold leaf between two fused layers of glass in the style of Late Antique gold glasses (Kunkel 1679, p. 12; see also Kisa 1899, p. 99; Pillinger 1984, pp. 63-65). In the following century, Caylus noted the apparently rather more successful results obtained by the chemist M. Majault (Caylus 1759, p. 195).

Majault, however, died without publishing an account of his methodology (Pillinger 1984, pp. 66-70).



**Figure 20.** Replica gold glass in the Vatican Museum produced to replace a disintegrating original. That the inscription has been rendered in reverse suggests that the original glass was copied from the back (after Osborne & Claridge 1998, p. 206, no. 251).

Despite these failed attempts, Late Antique gold glass reproductions were being produced by the Vatican in the late seventeenth century. These reproductions were produced without the intention to deceive, probably in order to replace a disintegrating original. Nevertheless have rather misleadingly been termed as fakes in the few instances in which they have been included within scholarly accounts of gold glass (e.g. Garrucci 1858; Pillinger 1984). Illustrated in Figure 20, one of these reproductions still resides in the Reserve collection of the Vatican Museum. Akin to original Late Antique glasses, the piece has been produced through the proper fusing of two glass layers sandwiching the gold leaf iconography in between. It is accompanied upon the reverse by a note stating that it was ‘copied from an ancient gold leaf glass discovered in the suburban cemeteries’ (Osborne & Claridge 1998, p. 206, no. 251).

The inscription to the left of the central figure on the medallion depicted in Figure 20 has been reproduced as illegible, as it most probably appeared upon the original, without any attempt to conjecturally reconstruct the phrase. The remainder of the inscription appears to have been produced in reverse. This strongly implies an intended faithfulness to the original piece, copied (perhaps inadvertently) from the reverse from where the iconography was most visible. No reference is made to what happened to the original, but it is most likely that it disintegrated. Buonarruoti for instance remarks upon a gold glass discovered in 1698, and fortunately drawn immediately, 'for after a few days it crumbled to dust' (Buonarruoti 1716, p. 218, pl. XXX). The reproduction glass illustrated in Figure 20 was included in the 'Museo Cartaceo' of Cassiano Dal Pozzo. The particular portion of the 'Museo Cartaceo' in which the piece appears has been attributed a late seventeenth-century date by Osborne and Claridge (1998, p. 206, no. 251), and thus although no account of the methodology survives, it strongly suggests that the Vatican was successfully replicating gold glasses by at least 1700.

In contrast to official replicas intended to replace disintegrating originals, in 1759 Caylus noted that contemporary dealers in Rome were selling imitations of gold glasses to tourists who believed them to be genuine (Caylus 1759, pp. 193-205). This practice was also commented upon by Wiseman one hundred years later (Wiseman 1859, p. 209). As already noted, the British Museum collection includes a number of fake gold glasses produced with the intention to deceive. The earliest two forgeries to enter the collection, numbers **56** and **57**, both acquired prior to 1852, are imitations of brushed technique medallions. Illustrated in Figure 21, number **57** was produced by a highly accomplished artist who was well able to imitate the fine quality of the brushed technique.

In addition, however, it is highly probable that the artist who produced this forgery (**57**) in fact copied a single element, the young boy, from a genuine brushed technique medallion now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (inv. no. 1917.190.109). This genuine gold glass, also known as the Ficoroni Medallion (Breck 1926/7) is illustrated in Figure 22. The producer of the British Museum forgery number **57** need not and indeed is unlikely to have produced his forgery directly from the

original Ficoroni Medallion. The original was illustrated in a published work as early as 1732 (Ficoroni 1732, p. 11) from which a skilled artist could easily have produced the British Museum piece.



**Figure 21.** The obverse and reverse of the fake gold glass number **57** in the British Museum collection (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).



**Figure 22.** The Ficoroni Medallion now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 1917.190.109), it is probable that the iconography for the fake gold glass number **57** in the British Museum collection was copied from this piece.

Despite the very high quality of the iconography and gold leaf incision upon number **57**, however, the forger responsible was certainly not a glassworker. He did not fuse the gold leaf depiction between two layers of glass in the manner of the originals. Rather, the gold leaf image has been gilded and incised in retrograde upon the upper covering layer of colourless glass. Instead of being then fused between a backing layer of cobalt blue glass, the image is sealed at the back with a black resin-like substance illustrated in Figure 21. Number **56** in the collection is also very similar. In this instance, however, the incised portrait has been produced, to a somewhat lesser standard, upon the black resin disc. It has then been loosely affixed between a cover layer of colourless glass and a wooden mounting.

The producers of the fake gold glasses numbers **58-60** in the British Museum collection, argued above as being part of the much larger Borghesi collection of very similar glasses produced in the mid nineteenth century, also did not fuse the images between two glass layers in the same manner as genuine Late Antique examples. Each piece reuses the base fragments of Roman, or at the least already antique vessels. The picture upon the bases, rather than having been produced in gold leaf as is the case upon genuine pieces, appears to be enamel, cold painted upon the surface of the glass (Fremersdorf 1967, p. 219; Goldstein 1977, p. 59). A small disc of thin glass has then been dropped over to cover the cold painted decoration, and simply glued into place, giving the impression that the imagery is indeed fused between two glass layers as upon the original Late Antique pieces.

Interest in gold glass reproduction was rekindled after the publication of Garrucci's 1858 examination of gold glass iconography. Notes from the lecture of Cardinal Wiseman, focusing on the catacomb glasses, remark upon a failed attempt to reproduce gold sandwich-glass undertaken by an unnamed London glassworks at his instigation (Wiseman, 1859, p. 173). In this instance, the gold leaf was reported to have curled up and turned black as the protecting layer of glass was applied in liquid form. Highly successful reproductions of late antique sandwich gold glass were not achieved until the late nineteenth century. The mosaic restorer Antonio Salviati and the glass artists of the Venice and Murano Company and their artistic advisor Alessandro Castellani, amongst an air of great personal and professional rivalry (Rudoe

2002; 2003), both succeeded in recreating exact copies of many of the Late Antique cut and incised gold sandwich-glasses illustrated by Garrucci (Garrucci 1858; 1864; 1872-1880).

The range of pieces produced by both parties included properly fused cut and incised sandwich-glass vessel bases and diminutive medallion studded vessels. However, where the vast majority of Late Antique cut and incised gold glass vessel bases are sandwiched between two layers of colourless glass, the Venetian reproductions invariably appear upon a coloured base-disc. This was most frequently cobalt blue (*Reflecting Antiquity* 2007, no. 55) or green (e.g. Appendix 1 catalogue **64** in the British Museum collection) in colour, the two most common colours of Late Antique gold glass diminutive medallion backings. It is certainly possible that it was in part because of the two gold sandwich-glass vessel bases with blue backings in Castellani's own collection, one of which is now in the British Museum collection (Appendix 1 catalogue number **46**) that Castellani chose to produce many of his reproductions upon coloured backings. Nevertheless, coloured backings do add further prominence to the image, and it should be remembered that Castellani and Salviati were principally producing aesthetically pleasing historicizing art glass for general sale, not exact replicas.

The exact methodology employed was unfortunately never published by either party. Alessandro Castellani, however, stated both in his personal papers (Rudoe 2002, p. 311) and to journalists (Rudoe 2003, p. 216) that the inspiration behind the rediscovery of Late Antique gold glass manufacture was the study of the twelfth-century treatise of Theophilus. This treatise, 'De Diversis Artibus' (On Diverse Arts), by the German monk known as Theophilus (*Theophilus* 13; translation by Hawthorne and Smith 1963, pp. 59-60) instructs craftsman in the techniques of contemporary painting, glassmaking and metalwork. Chapter 13 of the second book of the treatise 'De vitreis scyphis, quos graeci auro et argento decorant' (The Art of the Worker in Glass; Glass Goblets which the Byzantines Embellish with Gold and Silver) describes the methodology for producing twelfth century vessels, the walls of which were gilded (e.g. BM P&E 1977.7-1.1; Byzantium 1994, no.186; Megaw 1980). Theophilus gives an account of the technique thus:

*'They take gold leaf, and from it shape representations of men or birds, or animals or foliage. Then they apply these onto the goblet with water, in whatever place they have selected. This gold leaf must be rather thick. Then they take glass that is very clear, like crystal, which they make up themselves, and which melts soon after it feels the heat of the fire. They grind it carefully on a porphyry stone with water and apply it very thinly over the gold leaf with a brush. When it is dry they put the goblet in the kiln in which painted glass for windows is fired. Underneath they light a fire of beech wood that has been thoroughly dried in smoke; and when they have seen the flame penetrating the goblet long enough for it to take on a slight rendering, they immediately throw out the wood and block up the kiln until it cools by itself. This gold will never come off'* (translation by Hawthorne and Smith 1963, pp. 59-60).

Theophilus' account is useful for the glassworker working with gold leaf, and it has been quoted in a large number of more recent publications concerning Late Antique gold sandwich-glass (e.g. Alarcão 1968, p. 75; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, pp. 266-7). However, despite Castellani's statements, Theophilus does not provide an adequate methodology for Late Antique gold sandwich-glass production. His discussion of the gold leaf itself being initially applied to the glass with nothing more than water is extremely useful. But he does not provide an account of how the leaf is then sandwiched between two layers of glass. He instead gives a methodology for the securing of the gold leaf to the wall of the glass vessel by using a minimal amount of powdered glass.

Interestingly, chapters of the work of the tenth-century monk and self confessed native of Italy, Eraclius, are frequently found bound together in other works ascribed to different authors including Theophilus. The earlier work of Eraclius, in part specifically concerned with making Late Antique gold sandwich-glass, but almost never mentioned in more recent scholarly work is, for example, bound together with the copy of Theophilus' treatise held in the British Library (Merrifield 1849, p. 167). It is quite possible therefore that the Venetian glassworkers had also studied Eraclius' specific account, perhaps unknowingly, as well as gaining information from Theophilus himself. In his tenth century treatise 'De Coloribus et Artibus Romanorum' (On the

colours and arts of the Romans), part five, 'De fialis auro decoratis' (Of phials decorated with gold), Eraclius states that:

*'The Romans made themselves phials of glass, artfully varied with gold, very precious, to which I gave great pains and attention, and had my mind's eye fixed upon them day and night, that I might attain the art by which the phials shone so bright; I at length discovered what I will now explain to you my dearest friend. I found gold-leaf carefully enclosed between the double glass. When I had often knowingly looked at it, being more and more troubled about it, I obtained some phials shining with clear glass, which I anointed with the fatness of gum with a paint brush. Having done this, I began to lay leaf-gold upon them, and when they were dry I engraved birds and men and lions upon them, as I thought proper. Having done this, I placed them over glass made thin with fire by skilful blowing. After they had felt the heat thoroughly, the thinned glass adhered properly to the phials'* (translation by Merrifield 1849, pp. 187-188).

The brief methodology provided by Eraclius, specifically addressing the production of gold leaf sandwiched between a double layer of glass, is extremely valuable to those wishing to reproduce Late Antique gold glass. Eraclius explicitly describes the gold leaf first being laid upon the surface of the lower glass layer and secured there with gum, and when this had been done, engraving various depictions upon it, presumably then removing the excess leaf. He then specifically notes the heating of this gilded layer of glass, and then the blowing of a glass bubble over the top effectively fusing the gold leaf between the two. Eraclius' methodology forms the bases of my own attempt at experimental reproduction discussed later in this chapter.

In 1901, experiments were made by the scholar N. H. J. Westlake, Esq. F. S. A. at the British Museum. A brief account of his methodology was reported by Dalton in the same year (Dalton 1901a, p. 252; see also Dillon 1907, p. 93). Unlike the gold glasses which had been successfully reproduced in Venice only a few years before, Westlake's methodology does not appear to have been based upon the reading of any medieval or other related accounts. He is described as applying gold foil to a layer of glass by means of a mordant of sugar and water, the design then being incised upon the gold leaf. The lower gilded layer of glass was then covered by a flux, the details of which are



not provided, and overlain with a second colourless layer of glass. Assembled cold, the whole was then subjected to heat sufficient to melt the flux and cause the two glass layers to unite.

The products of Westlake's experiments are still present within the British Museum collection, and appear in the catalogue in Appendix 1 as numbers **61-63**. Although the gold leaf upon these objects is indeed sandwiched between a fused double layer of glass, they do not accurately illustrate the Late Antique gold glass vessels they were intended to reflect. The incised gold leaf upon Westlake's experimental pieces are sandwiched between two flat plates of glass, not a manipulated foot-ring and shallow bowl as upon the originals. If a gold glass vessel, both with foot-ring and shallow bowl upper layer of glass was assembled cold, according to Westlake's methodology, and heated together causing the two layers to fuse, the heat would cause the shaped glass to sag and be greatly distorted. Westlake's methodology can thus only be applied to the fusing of gold leaf between two flat, unshaped, plates of glass and not a vessel as in the Late Antique examples.

Although apparently not used to guide the experimental production of gold sandwich-glass in any known attempts, a methodology similar to that of Theophilus is described in detail by the late fourteenth-century artist Cennino Cennini. Cennini was heavily influenced by contemporary Byzantine practices, and although his method is not directly related to the fusing of gold leaf between a double layer of glass in the style of Late Antique gold glasses, he has been referenced in a number of scholarly works as an example of combined gold leaf and glass working (e.g. Dalton 1901a p. 250; Pillinger 1984, pp. 57-63). In Chapter 172, focussing on the contemporary adornment of reliquaries from his work 'Il libro dell' Arte o Trattato della Pittura', Cennini states that:

*'There is another way of working in glass, charming, lovely, and rare as can be imagined, which is a branch of art in devout use for the adornments of holy reliquaries, and it demands sure and ready design; and this is the manner of the work, thus: take a piece of white glass, not greenish, very clear, without bubbles, and wash it with lye and charcoal, rub it and rinse it again with clear water, and leave it alone to dry; but before you wash it cut it to whatever shape you want. Then take the white of a fresh egg; and*

*with a very clean whisk, break it up as you do for laying on gold; let it be well beaten, and let it distil for a night. Then take a minever brush, and with the brush and the egg clear, wet the glass on the back side, and when it is wetted equally take a piece of gold-leaf, which must be thick, that is to say, dead gold. Put it on the parchment tray and gently put it on the wetted glass; and with a piece of very clean cotton-wool press it gently down, not letting the egg-white get over the gold. And in this way gild all the glass. When it is quite dry, take a very flat tablet of wood, lined with black linen or canvas, and go into your little workroom where no one can disturb you at all, and which should only have one linen-covered window. Put your table at this window as if for writing, so that the window is over your head, and stand with your face turned towards the window; the glass being laid out on the before-mentioned black cloth. Then take a needle bound to a small stick, like a little minever brush, which must have a very fine point; and invoking the name of God, begin drawing lightly with this needle the figure which you wish to make; let the first drawing be very faint, for you can efface nothing; so make your drawing light as well as firm; then go on working as if you were drawing with a pen; for the whole work is done with the point; and do you see how you must have a light hand and not tired, for the deepest shade which you can make is only to go with the point of the needle quite down to the glass, and moreover the half shade is just not quite penetrating the gold, which is a delicate matter; and this work must not be one in haste, but with great delight and pleasure. And I give you this advice: that the day before you wish to work at such works, you should hold your hand to your neck and breast, to have it well rested from fatigue, and moderate in blood' (translation by Herringham 1899, pp. 154-156).*

In an earlier passage (Chapter 151), Cennini describes a slightly different method of applying gold leaf to glass, stating that:

*'...You will take your oil, which has been cooked on the fire or in the sun... and grind with this oil a little biacca [lead-white] and verdigris; and when you have ground it like water, put a little varnish [or resin] in it, and let everything boil together for a little while. Then take one of your glazed vessels and put it in and let it rest... take a little in a small vessel, and a minever brush, made in the quill of a pigeon's or hen's feather, and make it stiff and pointed, with the point coming out very little beyond the quill. Then*

*dip the tip of the point into the mordant, and make your ornaments and borders, and, as I tell you, never load the brush too much. The reason is that in this way your work will come like fine hairs, which is very lovely work... wait till the next day; then feel what you have done with the finger ring of the right hand, that is, with the tip of the finger, and if it is only slightly tacky, then take the pincers, cut off half a leaf of fine gold, or alloyed gold, or of silver, though these two do not last, and lay it upon the mordant. Press it with cotton, and with the same finger stroke the piece of gold, putting some over the mordant where there is none... take care that your hands are always clean. I warn you that gold which is laid over mordents, especially in such very fine work, must be the thinnest beaten gold which you can get; for if it is thick you cannot use it so well'* (translation by Herringham 1899, pp. 130-131).

The writings of Cennino Cennini, although not specifically concerned with the fusing of gold leaf between two layers of glass, are nevertheless extremely valuable when attempting to recreate the method. Cennini explains in great detail the process of adhering gold leaf to the glass layer, including an extensive description of the appropriate mordents best used in this process and how to make them. Perhaps most valuably, he goes on to describe again in very great detail the tools and methods best employed for incising various designs upon the gold leaf, and for removing the excess, which can then be recycled.

The detailed examination of attempts at Late Antique style gold-sandwich glass reproduction from the relatively recent past, some of which were based upon earlier medieval accounts of working with glass and gold leaf, provided a significant amount of relevant data for my own attempt at experimental reproduction. Chief amongst the problems encountered by both forgers and scholars has been the fusing of the gold leaf between two layers of glass. The majority of gold glass forgers, although in some instances being able to produce near convincing designs in the gold leaf, appear to have been largely ignorant of glass-working techniques (e.g. **56-60**). Indeed, the only successful Late Antique style gold glass reproductions (e.g. **64**) were produced by professional glassworkers. Although very short, the relevant extract from the work of Eraclius provides the most complete account of fusing gold leaf between two layers of glass. Nevertheless, it is not explicit in its methodology. Neither the writing of

Theophilus or Cennino Cennini is directly concerned with the sandwiching of gold leaf between glass layers. However, both accounts provide highly detailed and relevant information concerning the appropriate tools and practices for the combined working of gold leaf and glass. These texts, alongside the lessons learned from the failings of past attempts, provided a solid basis for a new in-depth experimental investigation into Late Antique gold glass production.

### **My own program of experimental reproduction**

Scholars such as Pillinger and D'Escurac-Doisy, drawing upon some of the medieval and other descriptions discussed above, have provided theoretical methodologies based upon their understanding of how glass is worked (Pillinger 1984, pp. 59-61; D'Escurac-Doisy 1959, pp. 60-2). These theoretical methodologies are often, however, subject to fundamental error when put to the test. Indeed, the experiences and ultimate failings of past attempts at gold glass reproduction make it clear that any new and bona fide attempt at reproducing Late Antique gold glass methodology should be undertaken in connection with professional glassworkers. My own program of experimental reproduction has been undertaken with the aid and advice of Mark Taylor and David Hill, the 'Roman Glassmakers' who specialise in the reproduction of Roman glass for museums, re-enactors and television and cinema.

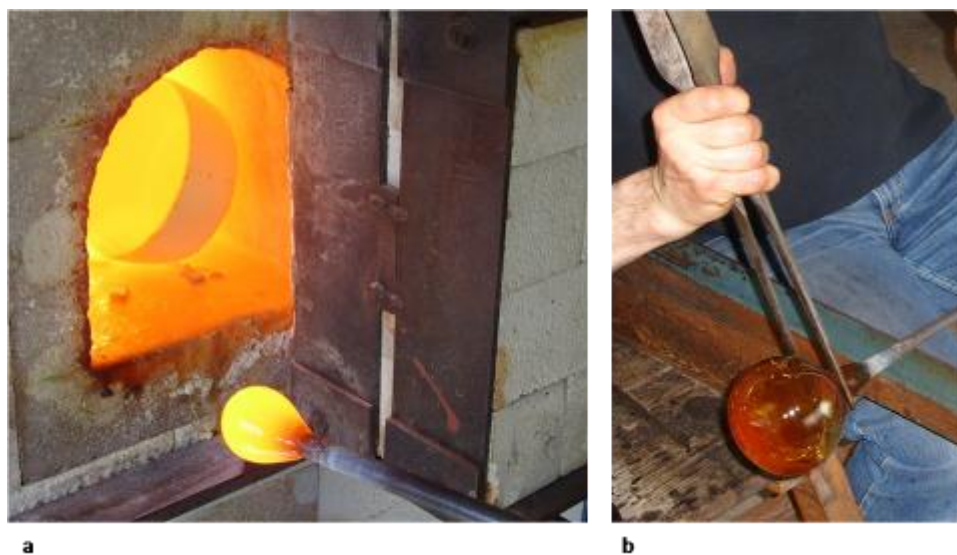
Based upon the gold glasses in the British Museum, the accounts of medieval and later glassworkers and antiquarians, the following step-by-step approximation of Late Antique gold glass production method has been produced. This is discussed under the appropriate headings regarding each of the different gold glass sub-types identified in Chapter Three and has been carried out using materials, tools and techniques faithful to our current understanding of those used in the third and fourth centuries AD, the generally accepted date for the production of gold glass. Modern raw materials allow the replication of ancient glass recipes very accurately (Taylor & Hill 2007, p. 76). The detailed compositional analysis data from the British Museum gold glasses (Andrew Meek, unpublished British Museum Science Report Project Number 7434; discussed in Chapter Three) was used to provide a recipe for the glass used for these experiments,

effectively reproducing the working properties of the glass used to produce the original objects.

### **Cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessels and gilded-glass plaques**

Crucial to the Late Antique method of gold sandwich-glass manufacture is the actual fusing of the gold leaf between the two layers of glass. As has been discussed above, this has proved the most difficult aspect of manufacture in past attempts, in which the gold leaf has not been sandwiched between glass at all (56-57), a cover layer of glass has simply been glued into place (58-60), or, if the glass layers have been properly fused (61-63), they take the form of flat plates, not manipulated vessel forms. The process of fusing the gold leaf between layers of glass is best illustrated with regard to producing two layer cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessels.

The first stage in the production of a sandwich gold glass vessel base is the creation of the base-disc. In order to produce the base-disc blank, transparent glass is gathered upon the end of the blowpipe (Figure 23a), inflated, and a constriction is formed between the blowpipe and the bubble, known as the parison (Figure 23b). After reheating the parison, making the glass more pliable, the bottom is then flattened and its sides made cylindrical using a hand-held flat metal or wooden surface (Figure 24a). This can also be achieved through centrifugal force. The parison is then removed from the blowpipe and, resembling an onion in its shape, is placed in an annealing oven known as the *lear* to slowly cool over the course of one night (Figure 24b). If the glass is allowed to cool more quickly it will become brittle and crack. Once it has cooled, a simple glass-working process known as 'cracking off' is employed to separate the flattened end from the rest of the parison. Illustrated to the left of Figure 25, this leaves the level pad base-disc and a downturned foot-ring of a few millimetres. Only the flattened end is retained, the excess glass, indeed the majority of the original parison illustrated to the right of Figure 25, is recycled.



**Figure 23.** Gathering and initial shaping of the glass parison for the base disc (Photograph: D. T. Howells).



**Figure 24.** Shaping the base disc parison (Photograph: D. T. Howells).



**Figure 25.** The parison after the process of cracking off. The disc to the left is retained forming the pad base disc, whilst the majority of the parison, seen to the right, is recycled (Photograph: D. T. Howells).

The next step is to apply gold leaf to the upper surface of the pad base disc. Eraclius is quite explicit in his methodology for applying gold leaf, pasting the glass surface with gum and laying the gold leaf directly over it. I repeated Eraclius' method, applying the naturally occurring vegetable glue 'Gum Arabic' in a heavily diluted form to the top of the base-disc with a brush. Any water-soluble adhesive which evaporates completely under intense heat can be employed for this process. An obvious alternative is 'Rabbit Skin Glue'. Evidence for the use of Gum Arabic and Rabbit Skin Glue, as well as a variety of alternatives in the Roman world, are summarized in by Newman and Serpico (Newman & Serpico 2000). Both the adhesives described by Cennino Cennini also proved effective, whilst the use of water only, as advocated by Theophilus, could be used, but did not hold the gold leaf to the surface of the glass as securely as the other methods tested. Once the adhesive has been applied, the gold leaf was then laid upon the surface of the base disc. This is a delicate process, because of the thinness of gold leaf, which is applied using a fine brush otherwise known as a gilders tip, and is described in detail by Cennini in the passage quoted above.



**Figure 26.** Incising the design into the gold leaf (Photograph: D. T. Howells).

Once the gold leaf is properly stuck to the glass, the desired iconographic depiction can then be cut and incised into the leaf. For the purposes of this demonstration, the iconography from the British Museum gold glass number **17** has been reproduced,

depicting Daniel slaying the Dragon of Babylon, encouraged by a nimbed and rod-wielding Christ. The method is dictated in detail by Cennino Cennini, who advocated the use of a needle bound to a stick; however, the classic Roman stylus would have proved equally as effective. The tool used, as Cennini explicitly notes, must be sharp enough to penetrate the gold leaf. The glass is placed upon a black, or at any rate dark, backing so that the gold leaf can be clearly seen in contrast. The design is then sketched very lightly at first, and then with a heavier hand once the precise details have been defined, as illustrated in Figure 26a-b. Any accompanying inscription is incised in much the same way. However, it will be noted that the tops and bottoms of letters upon Late Antique gold glasses are almost exclusively straight in appearance, indicating that these were initially laid out within parallel guidelines determining the height of the letters.

At this point, any over-painted enamelled details, as exemplified upon the British Museum gold glass number **19**, can be added. The precise method is narrated by Eraclius, who states that 'If anyone wishes to paint vases with glass... let him choose for himself two stones of red marble, between which let him grind the [coloured] Roman glass, and when it is pulverized as fine as the dust of the earth, let him make it liquid with the clear fatness of gum' (*Eraclius*, 'Coloribus et Artibus Romanorum' I.3, in Fleming 1999, p. 191). This can then be applied to the desired areas with a brush.

In terms of the iconography, later chapters will demonstrate that almost every image depicted upon cut and incised gold glass vessel bases can be paralleled in other contemporary media. Furthermore, the same all-but-identical image and format occurs time and time again upon separate gold glasses. The classic example is the standard generic paired adult couple, transformed into a family group by the addition of one or more generic children. As a result, it seems probable that the images and additional composite elements could have been in the vast majority of cases copied from pattern books. The images are furthermore likely to have been transcribed onto the gold leaf through the use of an overlying grid, perhaps in some cases consisting of only four squares. A grid of this nature could easily have been applied over the gilded surface of the base-disc, using some kind of water-soluble colour. The use of pattern books, the images from which being then transcribed onto the gilded base disc by use



of a grid in this fashion, would enable a set range of gold glass iconography to be mechanically produced upon multiple vessel bases.



**Figure 27.** Gold glass number **17** in the British Museum collection, highlighting in green (1-5) areas of excess gold leaf which have not been removed; in blue (a) the scored surface of the gold leaf occurring when the glass was removed from the lead (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Once the design has been incised upon the gilded base disc (Figure 26c) the excess gold leaf surplus to the iconography can be scraped away. The excess leaf can be retained and then recycled. Whilst this removes the vast majority of the excess gold leaf, a light dusting of very stubborn fleck still remain upon the surface of the glass. The adhesive is water-soluble, and thus these more stubborn gold leaf flecks can be easily removed with a small pointed piece of wood dipped in water. The removal of the excess gold leaf and even the basic iconographic design incision upon significant numbers of Late Antique gold glasses is not, however, carried out with great care and attention. Multiple examples show the signs of what can only be described as rather shoddy workmanship.

The British Museum gold glass number **17** for example, displays many traces of this, highlighted in green in Figure 27(1-5). Large amounts of excess gold leaf remains present between Christ's back (1) and the border and between Christ's hands and Daniel's back (2-3). Further to this, Christ's feet have not been incised properly (4-5) and we might even go so far as to suggest that the portion of Daniel's cloak which should be visible between and to the right of his legs has been mistakenly removed. More commonly upon other gold glasses, very small details of the iconography and inscription, often the crossbar of the letter A, have been removed accidentally, the latter most probably trying to remove the more stubborn flecks of gold leaf with water.



**Figure 28.** Removing the heated base disc from the hearth onto a wooden paddle (Photograph: D. T. Howells).

When the gold leaf excess has finally been removed to the satisfaction of the craftsman, the decorated pad base-disc is slowly reheated overnight in the hearth to temperatures approximating 550°C. This prevents a thermal shock and the shattering of the glass occurring when a hot parison is blown directly on top of it to form the actual vessel. It also has the inadvertent effect of smoothing off the downturned foot ring of the pad base-disc, as observable upon each of the Late Antique examples in the

British Museum. If the temperature inside the lehr rises to over 600°C, however, the downturned foot ring upon the base disc is in danger of distortion. Slightly distorted foot rings are relatively common upon Late Antique gold glasses, including numbers **13** and **40**. Once fully heated, the gilded pad base-disc is removed from the lehr by pushing it onto a wooden paddle with a short stick, illustrated in Figure 28. If significant care and attention is not taken, the stick may slip and brush across the gilded surface of the disc, causing the glass to rotate and creating a part oval or circular score in the gilding. This feature is present upon a number of Late Antique cut and incised gold glass vessel bases, including number **17** in the British Museum collection where it is highlighted in blue in Figure 27(a) above.



**Figure 29.** Fusing the gilded base disc with the parison forming the vessel bowl (Photograph: D. T. Howells).

The heated base disc, now ready for sandwiching as part of a bowl, is next placed upon the floor in a specially created oven-like box. This ensures that it retains its heat and thus prevents a thermal shock. Illustrated in Figure 29, the glassworker then stands above it and inflates a hot parison of glass of a similar temperature to the gilt disc

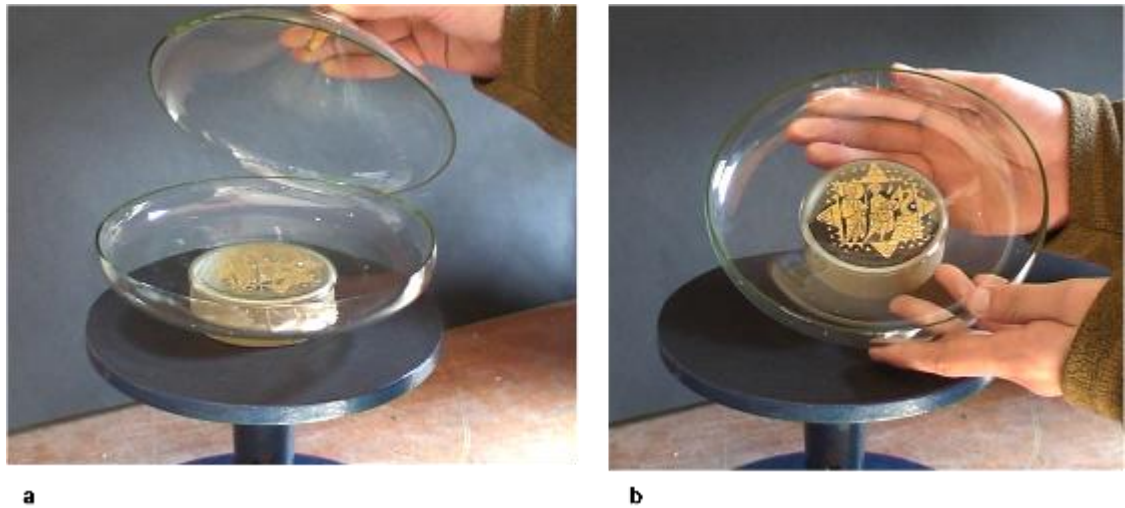
down upon it, fusing the gold leaf between the two, as Eraclius somewhat implicitly describes in the passage quoted above.

The distinctive half circle cracks in the base disc, but not the upper layer of some gold glasses, notably number **23** (and also no. **1**) in the British Museum collection, have been noted with regard to the chemical composition of the two layers in Chapter Three. The cracking in the base-disc, but not the cover-layer of glass was found not to be the result of slight differences in the glass composition of the two layers. Instead, as a result of this program of experimental reproduction, the phenomenon appears to be a direct result of the base-disc being slightly cooler than the parison inflated down upon it. The difference in temperature is not significant enough to cause a thermal shock; however, it can result in cracking of this nature. The fused whole can, if required, be shaped in the same manner we saw the base disc on parison being formed at the beginning of the process (Figure 24a).

It is notable that no pontil mark is present upon the underside of any Late Antique gold glass vessel base. Indeed, if it was present, the iconography would be greatly distorted by it. This mark, common upon the bases of Roman glass vessels, is created by a solid metal rod, known as a pontil, tipped with a wad of hot glass and applied to the base of the piece. This allows the vessel to be inserted into the furnace opening known as the glory-hole for reheating, so that applications such as handles may be attached. If a pair of small handle loops were present upon any gold glass vessel, as suggested in Boldetti's 1720 illustration (illustrated in Figure 9 above), then these would have had to have been applied to the inflated parison without the use of a pontil. This would make the application of handles a relatively difficult process, and applying them in the correct positions upon the vessel wall particularly tricky. Such handles were certainly not present upon each gold glass vessel. Indeed, those illustrated by Boldetti cannot be paralleled in other contemporary glass and thus may in fact be an invention of the artist.

Like the base disc on bubble, the fused whole vessel is then removed from the blowpipe and slowly cooled in the lehr for the night, leaving an onion shaped bubble with the decorated base-disc firmly attached to the bottom. Once cool, the process of

cracking off is again employed (Figure 30), removing the excess upper portion of the parison (Figure 30a), which can then be recycled. This leaves a vessel shaped like a shallow bowl (Figure 30b). The lack of pontil mark suggests that the vessel rim could not have been re-inserted into the furnace for fire-polishing, and as such, it was probably smoothed using a stone. Akin to Late Antique examples, and as noted above, the vessel-foot is inadvertently smoothed by its re-heating in the hear.



**Figure 30.** The vessel parison after the process of cracking off. The excess upper portion of the parison is recycled (a), leaving a shallow bowl shaped vessel (b) (Photograph: D. T. Howells).

It is uncertain why some cut and incised technique vessel bases, seemingly identical to two layer sandwich-glass vessel bases in technique and, in a number of instances, in iconography as well, should consist of three layers of glass rather than the far more common two layer examples. As has been noted above, the gold leaf upon three-layer glasses exclusively appears sandwiched between the lowermost base-disc layer, and the middle layer of glass. This observation is crucial. It is quite possible, and indeed probable, that upon fusing the iconography between the base-disc and the vessel-bowl layer of glass, the glassworker was not happy with the shape of the bowl created by the upper parison. In response to this, and not wishing to discard the decorated base disc, the glassworker then removed what was initially intended to form the vessel walls and reheated the now two-layer base-disc again in the hear. This process has the effect of smoothing out the jagged edge caused by the removal of the removal of the originally intended vessel bowl. The glassworker could then have blown a second

parison over the top, forming the new and this time satisfactory vessel bowl and thus resulting in there being three glass layers.

Diocletian's Edict of Maximum Prices is discussed by Barag as pricing glass vessels according to weight rather than form (Barag 1987, p. 116). The addition of the third layer of glass would certainly have made the finished vessel a heavier object than two layer examples, however, the small number of gold glass vessels consisting of three layers makes it unlikely that increasing the weight of the vessel in this way functioned to increase the overall value of the object. Indeed, there is little evidence that the edict was widely adopted, and is furthermore thought not to have been applied in Rome and the western empire, where the majority of gold glasses have been recovered.



**Figure 31.** Grozing the vessel walls away to the line of the foot ring, retaining only the iconography upon the base disc (Photograph: D. T. Howells).

Although it cannot be directly evidenced once the base-disc had been reheated, the removal of the unsatisfactory vessel walls for the blowing of a new parison is likely to have been carried out through the process known as grozing. Grozing is achieved by firmly crushing, rather than snapping, the glass piece by piece between a pair of metal pliers, illustrated in Figure 31. This process can be carried out to quite a high degree of accuracy, and was also the method employed by seventeenth-century and later antiquarians to closely trim the broken vessel walls of Late Antique gold glasses down to the line of the foot-ring, discussed in Chapter Three. It is plainly observable upon almost all cut and incised gold glass vessel bases in the British Museum collection,



including number **17** replicated for the purposes of this program of experimental reproduction.

The methodology described above for the production of sandwich-glass vessel bases can be largely applied to cut and incised gilded-glass plaques. Based upon the methodology provided by Theophilus, rather than reheating the fully decorated disc for fusing, it is instead inserted into the annealing oven at temperatures approximating 900°C. This effectively secures the gold leaf and any enamelled detail to the glass below creating the gilded-glass plaque. Noted in Chapter Three, the slight down-turned edges of the glass disc, produced in the same way as the pad base-disc illustrated in Figures 23-5, were not removed prior to the piece being inserted into the annealing oven. The high temperature needed to secure the gold leaf onto the glass would have had the effect of causing the lip of glass to sag completely, creating a slightly thicker and sturdier edge to the large thin plate of glass.

### **The St Severin bowl and other cut and incised technique diminutive medallion studded vessels**

The St Severin bowl in the British Museum collection (**39**; Figures 10 & 11) and the numerous diminutive medallions which certainly formed part of other such bowls share the same cut and incised technique, and, as will be demonstrated in later chapters, an identical iconographic repertoire as the vessel bases noted above. The glass-working processes involved in producing diminutive medallion studded vessels share many of the principles of cut and incised sandwich-glass vessel production. The exact methodology, however, is markedly different. The following discussion of methodology focuses on the production of the St Severin bowl.

As with cut and incised vessel production described above, transparent glass is first gathered upon the end of the blowpipe, inflated, and a constriction formed between the blowpipe and the parison (Figure 23). The parison is then shaped to form a 'proto-bowl', the lower portion approximating to the shape of the vessel ultimately intended. The parison is then detached from the blowpipe and cooled in the lehr. As noted in Chapter Three, the diminutive medallions applied to the St Severin bowl are not

randomly placed, but conform to a highly ordered sequence reconstructed and illustrated in Chapter Seven (Figure 68). Once it has been removed from the lear, this ordered sequence could only have been achieved by the careful marking out of the proto-bowl with a circular 'spiders web' style grid allowing the gold leaf to be applied to the required areas with precision. The iconography of each medallion can then be cut and incised in exactly the same fashion as the vessel bases described above. The iconography was cut in retrograde, intended to be viewed from the inside of the finished vessel thus making the application of over-painted enamelled details impossible. As noted in the previous chapter, over-painted enamel detail does not occur on any published gold glass diminutive medallion.

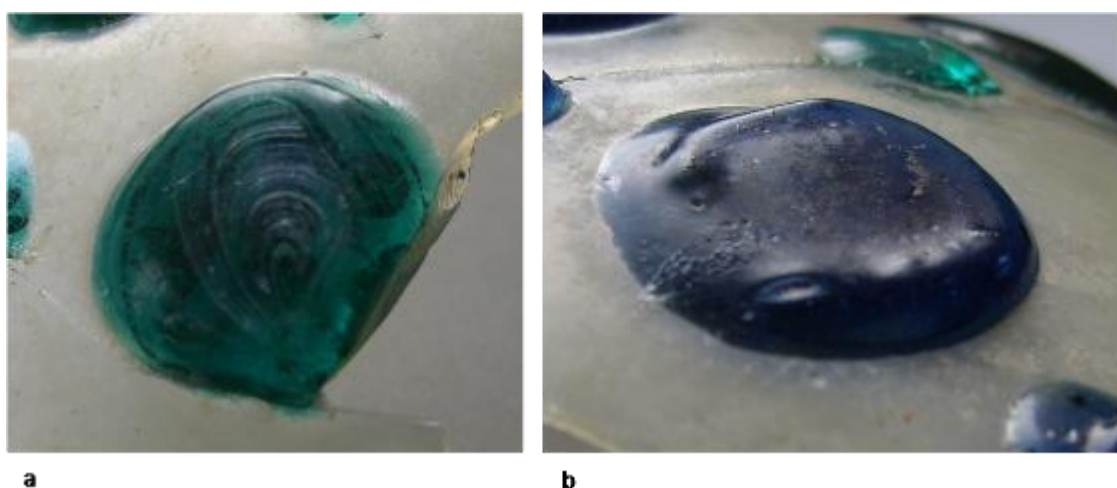
The decorated proto-bowl is then re-inserted into the lear and gradually brought back up to the fusing temperature of 550°C. Considerable care must be taken that this temperature is not exceeded; otherwise the proto-bowl parison will sag and ultimately collapse. Once heated, it must then be reattached to the blowpipe. This is a particularly tricky operation requiring the proto-bowl still to remain hot to prevent a thermal shock, whilst reattaching the blowpipe tipped with a hollow glass gather. Simultaneously, however, only a minimal degree of pressure can be exerted whilst pressing the blowpipe back onto the proto-bowl mouth so as not to distort or collapse the parison. Furthermore, the gilded iconography must not be brushed against for fear of scraping away all or part of the design in the manner discussed above and illustrated in Figure 27a. Once this operation has been completed, however, the decorated proto-bowl will once again take the form of an inflated and, to a certain extent, still inflatable parison upon the end of the blow pipe.

The application of coloured 'blobs' to contemporary glass vessels highly comparable to gold glass diminutive medallion studded bowls (e.g. Fremersdorf 1962, no. 46/47; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, no. 48) has in the past invariably been explained as follows. The individual coloured 'blobs' are produced and cooled. They are then laid out upon a slab in the order or pattern that they are intended to appear upon the finished vessel wall. The inflated parison intended to form the vessel itself, still attached to the blowpipe, is then rolled gently over them causing the cold 'blobs' to stick to the hot parison (Weinberg & Goldstein 1988, p. 88, fig. 4-45). This is certainly in error. The



application of cold ‘blobbed’ medallions to a heated glass parison would result instantly in a thermal shock and the shattering of both the parison and the blobs themselves.

The accuracy in which the coloured blobs are applied upon many such vessels illustrate effectively that they were also placed with far more precision, a point which is far more acute when they are furthermore to be applied precisely over and sandwiching a gold leaf image. The cold blobbed medallions cannot have been affixed with a suitable adhesive to the desired areas of the cold parison proto-bowl, and then the cold conglomerate whole inserted into the annealing oven and fused together from cold in the same way that Westlake’s 1901 reproductions were produced (Dalton 1901a, p. 252; Dillon 1907, p. 93; Appendix 1 nos. **61-63**). The proto-bowl would slump and sag whilst the adhesive securing the blobs to the vessel wall would quickly evaporate causing them to slip out of position.



**Figure 32.** Reverse details of the St Severin bowl; (a) the well rounded reverse of a green glass diminutive medallion showing clear traces of casting off marks, and (b) a tooling mark upon the reverse of a blue glass medallion where it has been pushed flat upon the side of the vessel (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The close examination of the St Severin bowl and other medallion studded vessels not sandwiching gold leaf between the medallion and the vessel wall provides the answer. The reverse of each coloured glass ‘blob’ on the St Severin bowl constitute the back of each diminutive medallion, the gold leaf iconography is sandwiched between it and the colourless vessel wall. On the reverse, spiral patterns in the glass are just visible

(Figure 32a). These swirling patterns are known as casting off marks, and are created when a small gather of hot glass is applied to the desired surface position of the hot parison proto-vessel, in the case of the St Severin bowl covering the gold leaf roundel, with a rod. The coloured glass tipped rod is then twisted and rotated as it is gently drawn back, thinning the glass gather and ultimately causing it to detach from the rod altogether, whilst still being attached to the proto-vessel wall.

Some glass colours can be worked at far lower temperatures than others. Upon the St Severin bowl the green diminutive medallions are relatively rounded upon the reverse. Able to be worked at lower temperatures, they have been easily cast off from the applying rod and settled upon the outside vessel surface with relative ease. The cobalt-blue 'blobs', however, cool at a far faster rate and are thus less easily worked at such low temperatures. Upon the St Severin bowl, this has caused problems when casting off. Clearly visible in Figure 32b, blue glass gathers are more likely to have had to have been cut from the rods rather than being cast off of their own accord. At this stage, now at too low a temperature to settle, they have had to have been pushed flat upon the outer surface of the bowl, leaving traces of tooling marks upon the reverse as a result.

The application of the coloured glass 'blobs' covering the gold leaf images to form diminutive medallions to the hot parison acts to push the walls of the proto-vessel inwards and cause it to collapse. Because of this, whilst one glassworker applies the blobs, the other is required to constantly re-inflate the parison (hence the re-attachment of the blowpipe) ensuring that the proto-bowl does not collapse. Nevertheless, the pressure exerted upon the vessel pushes the walls in slightly where it is applied. This is visible in the profile illustration of the St Severin bowl illustrated in Figure 14. Once all the blobs have been applied, the whole is removed from the blowpipe and slowly cooled in the lehr. In the same way as the vessels discussed above, the excess upper portion of the parison is removed by the cracking off process and the rim smoothed with a stone to produce the finished bowl.

Illustrated in Figures 12 and 13 and discussed above, the St Severin bowl also has a gilded inscription upon the upper portion of the vessel wall. This inscription may have

been gilded and incised at the same time and indeed by the same method as the iconography was produced. However, it is also possible that it was applied after the vessel had been finished. This inscription could not have been properly fired into the glass. If it was applied at the same time as the rest of the iconography, the annealing temperature of 550°C would not have been sufficient to adequately secure the unsandwiched gold leaf to the glass. A temperature of 900°C is instead required, following the methodology for the production of gilded-glass plaques noted above. If it had been applied after the vessel had been finished, then the vessel could not have then been inserted cold into the oven in order to secure the gold leaf upon the surface, as at temperatures of 600°C or more, the vessel bowl would sag and collapse.

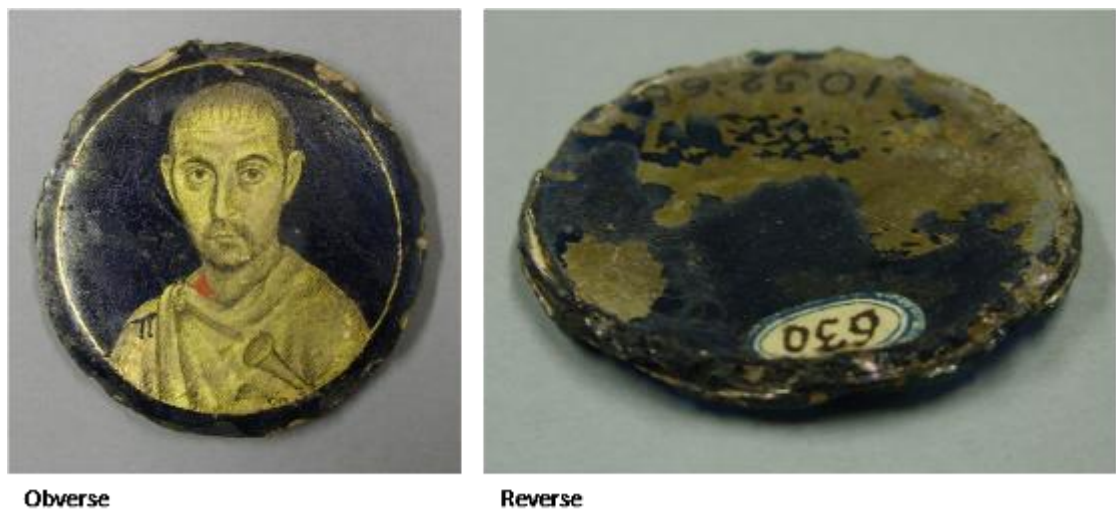
It is possible that the inscription was applied after all other glass working processes had been finished, and not fired at all. This would have prevented any distortion of the lettering as the parison was re-inflated in the course of applying the blobs. Applied with Gum Arabic, the gold leaf could only be incised with a very sharp point, making it relatively secure upon the glass unless subjected to heavy abrasion. In the light of this, it is notable that upon the St Severin bowl all of the actual gilding of this inscription is no longer present. Traces of the inscription is visible in the weathering of the glass, which appears to have weathered to a greater extent upon the glass surrounding the now vanished gilding, and thus preserving the trace of the inscription, rather than the gilding itself.

### **Brushed technique sandwich-glass portrait medallions and gilt-glass trail sandwich-glass vessels**

Brushed technique sandwich-glass portrait medallions follow and almost identical glass-working methodology to the cut and incised sandwich-glass vessels described above. The incision of the design, however, was completed to a far finer quality. The upper colourless and lower cobalt blue layers of the medallions were not mould cast and ground glass plates as suggested by 'Glass of the Caesars' (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, pp. 276-277). Furthermore, they were not decorated and assembled cold for inserting into the annealing oven following the methodology proposed by Westlake

(Dalton 1901a, p. 252). Instead, both layers were blown. The slight undulations upon the bottom of the British Museum medallion number **44** indicating that it was blown have been noted in Chapter Three and are visible in the profile illustration presented in Appendix 1. However, that the methodology for the production of brushed technique medallions was near identical to that for the production of cut and incised sandwich-glass vessels is best illustrated by a single medallion in the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 1052-1868).

Illustrated in Figure 33, the Victoria and Albert Museum medallion is very closely akin to the British Museum piece number **44** (Figures 16 & 17), and is stylistically identical to all other gold glasses of this sub-type considered to be genuine beyond question. It has also been referenced as early as 1732, making it extremely unlikely to be a forgery (Ficoroni 1732, p. 12). In contrast to other brushed technique medallions, however, the Victoria and Albert piece does not have a bevelled and ground edge. Instead, both the upper and lower layers of the glass have been closely grozed. This piece demonstrates effectively that both glass layers were in fact blown.



**Figure 33.** The obverse and reverse of the brushed technique gold glass in the Victoria & Albert Museum, illustrating its grozed edges upon both the upper and lower glass layers (inv. no. 1052-1868; Photograph: D. T. Howells, courtesy of the V&A).

It is extremely unlikely that the Victoria and Albert piece ever formed the base of a vessel. From my detailed examination of the object, the grozed downturned lip of the cobalt blue base layer of glass, forming the foot-ring upon gold sandwich-glass vessels,

does not appear to have been manipulated downward in a uniform manner. It is instead possible that this piece represents an unfinished example, where the piece has been produced and fused in the exact same manner as the cut and incised vessels discussed above. The two glass layers have apparently been grozed ready for the process of grinding to a smooth bevelled edge, which was, however, not carried out.

Gilt-glass trail sandwich vessels also follow an almost identical glass working methodology to the cut and incised sandwich-glass vessels described above. Rather than gilding the base-disc, however, long thin rods or trails of colourless glass were drawn, and when cold, were rolled in gold leaf. These were then cut into shorter sections to be rearranged as letters or reheated and shaped to form curved lengths. In the case of the latter, the thin roll of gold leaf cracks and in most instances comes away upon the outer edge of the curve. This is clearly observable upon Late Antique pieces and is noted above in Chapter Three. The finished inscription is then laid cold upon the base disc, or perhaps fixed into place with an appropriate adhesive such as Gum Arabic or rabbit skin glue. The whole is then reheated in the hear and fused, with the upper parison forming the vessel as detailed above.

### **Conclusions drawn from the experimental manufacture of gold glass**

In the section devoted to Late Antique gold glass in the 'Glass of the Caesars' exhibition catalogue, vessels are interpreted as having been trinkets owned by those 'who already may have been so rich that they had everything' (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 268). In the light of the possible production methodologies noted above, this seems very unlikely. When compared with contemporary silverware, glass was in no way an expensive or luxury commodity during the Roman era (e.g. Stern 1999). Furthermore, the amount of gold required for use in any one piece is minimal. In addition, the excess gold leaf scraped away to leave only the desired iconography can easily be caught and recycled, as is also the case with the excess glass.

A lower material cost is particularly likely in the case of the most numerous gold glass category, cut and incised sandwich-glass vessels and gilt-glass plaques. The degree of artistry involved in producing the iconography is certainly not of the highest standard,

even more so in the light of the images most probably having been transferred by way of a grid from pattern books. Furthermore, imperfections often occur in the finished design, highlighted above in Figure 27, which can only be attributed to sloppy workmanship. Ultimately, the process of fusing the gold leaf between the two layers of glass, once learned, required no more elementary skill than that of the very basic glassworker able to blow a simple bubble of glass, and thus the production of base-discs and the final fusing of the decorated pieces could have been carried out on mass. In addition, Alan Cameron has noted that the 'vulgar' orthography of cut and incised gold glass inscriptions suggests an other than upscale market for the objects (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 298).

Despite this, not every gold glass sub-type need necessarily have held a relatively modest cost value in relation to other materials such as silver. A far higher material cost can be reasonably attributed to brushed technique portrait medallions. The highly individualised and naturalistic traits valuable in these glasses could not have been produced on mass, and they could only have been created by an extremely accomplished artist whose skilled services would certainly have come at a high price. A similar scenario may also be envisaged, although perhaps not to quite the same extent, regarding the diminutive medallion studded bowls. Not only is the iconography of such vessels, most notably the St Severin bowl, very finely executed in a relatively small field, although requiring perhaps rather a practiced hand than inherent skill, the ability demanded of a team of glass workers is of a significantly higher order than required of all other gold glass subtypes.

From both a material and an artistic perspective, there seems little doubt that cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessels and gilt-glass plaques could have been afforded by those of a less than aristocratic status. Diminutive medallion studded vessels would have commanded a higher price due to the greater degree of glass-working skill involved, nevertheless, they could not have been considered as purely aristocratic items. This is also true of gilt-glass trail vessels. However, the technique was not widely practiced in the Roman world, and indeed cut and incised gold glasses are argued in Chapter Nine to have been produced in a single workshop that thus had a monopoly. As such, although gold glasses may have been considered cheap to those

of aristocratic status who could easily have afforded silverware, they may still have been deemed very expensive by the particular strata of society who did purchase them. There is little doubt, however, that brushed technique medallions were available only to the very rich, on account of the skill required to produce the almost photographic portraits they depict. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Ten. With the material value of the various subtypes in mind, I will now move away from the more practical aspects of gold glass in order to examine the area most frequently treated in scholarly literature, the images.

## **Chapter 5: The iconography of the British Museum gold glasses: secular portraits**

The iconographic repertoire of Late Antique gold glass is both wide-ranging and highly diverse. The most common subjects depicted are the portraits of secular and saintly individuals and groups, Christian, pagan and secular episodic imagery and scenic representation, Jewish symbolism, and inscriptions unaccompanied by illustrated embellishment. Many of the objects bear imagery not easily attributable to any standard label. This thesis explores gold glass iconography as illustrated only by the British Museum collection, and assesses its relationship with other contemporary fourth-century media. Nevertheless, the trends observable are applicable to the medium of gold glass as a whole. Detailed descriptions accompanied by colour photographs along with the exact dimensions of each gold glass in the British Museum collection appear in Appendix 1, and thus not every British Museum gold glass is illustrated here within the text.

Predominantly recovered from the catacombs of the city of Rome, gold glass is further demonstrated to have a provenance overwhelmingly centred upon Rome itself in Chapter Nine. The iconography upon British Museum gold glasses are thus treated here as part of the artistic language in use in Late Antique Rome. In the first instance, iconographic parallels to gold glass are sought amongst contemporary items also with a provenance in the city. Comparisons are initially made within the medium of gold glass. These are, wherever possible, followed by instances of the same element and or scene occurring in other contemporary minor and then monumental art, moving from the narrow to the wider comparison. In instances where there are literally hundreds of parallel images, only a handful will be noted in detail, from a cross section of media, exploring the relationship of gold glass with other local contemporary artistic production.

The following chapters thus constitute the first proper documentation of the images depicted on gold glass in the British Museum collection. Although large, the collection is eclectic in nature and does not cover every single iconographical variant. I have



therefore divided gold glass iconography as illustrated by the British Museum collection into four very broad categories. The two largest iconographical groupings in the collection, and indeed the most well-known classes of gold glass imagery, portraiture and Christian Biblical episodic imagery, are discussed first. Portraiture is divided between secular portraits and portrait-style depictions, discussed here in Chapter Five, and the portraits of saints, examined in Chapter Six. Christian Biblical episodic imagery is discussed in Chapter Seven, and includes an in-depth discussion of the St Severin bowl. The smaller iconographical groupings, Jewish symbolism, pagan imagery, secular subjects and inscription, often overlooked in gold glass scholarship overwhelmingly focused upon Early Christianity, are discussed in Chapter Eight. These broad groupings have been adopted in order to aid the discussion of the British Museum collection gold glass iconography, supported where necessary by examples from other museum collections. They are not intended to impose an all-encompassing categorisation applicable to the complete corpus of extant gold glasses.

‘Secular portraiture’ here covers both portraits and portrait-style depictions of people either as individuals, as pairs, or as part of a larger group. Numbering ten pieces in total, they constitute the second most numerous grouping of individual gold glasses in the British Museum collection, and include the largest number of complete or near-complete fragments. Portraits and portraiture, in the true sense of the term, allude to the physical traits of an individual, the precise details which represent the face of the person or persons portrayed (Brilliant 1991, pp. 6-7; Grabar 1969, p. 60; West 2004, pp. 21-30). Based on this definition, a single example of gold glass in the British Museum, number **44**, may perhaps be termed as such, belonging to the ‘brushed technique’ class of gold glasses.

The far more numerous cut and incised gold glasses recurrently employ generic representations of figures, regarding both the costume and physical attributes of the person or persons portrayed. Produced in a linear style, there is an over-emphasis of the contours resulting in the reduction of the figural depiction to a system of basic features, the nose, eyes, ears and mouth. Consequently, for example, the ridge of the nose and the left eyebrow are fused into a single line, a frequent occurrence in Roman popular art (Fleischer 2001, p. 57). This style of depiction, accounting for the vast

majority of published gold glass, cannot, therefore be categorised as 'portraits' in the true sense of the term (Brilliant 1991, pp. 6-7).

Portrait-style depictions were perceived of as portraits proper in our terms in Late Antiquity. Rather than seeking to reproduce the individualised facial features of the subjects, people depicted were recognisable not by their physical traits, but by their insignia, associated attributes and posture (Grabar 1969, p. 65). Indeed, Grabar states that in Late Antiquity, the task of the portrait artist was to utilise the figural representation as a vehicle in order to convey the idea and values of the person portrayed, by demonstrating that they possess all of the correct attributes associated with that ideal (Grabar 1969, pp. 65-6). In cut and incised gold glass, the portrait style depictions of both secular people and saints share many of the same iconographic elements. They are distinguishable, not through an accompanying inscription, although these are sometimes present, but rather by details of costume and specific associated attributes.

In the British Museum collection, three gold glasses depict individual people; four depict coupled male and female figures and two depict groups of figures. Portable portrait images of private secular individuals rarely survive from Late Antiquity, perhaps because of their production in perishable media. The painted glass disc from Pompeii, comparable in size to gold glasses, depicting the bust of a single adult male is a very rare survival from the preceding era (*Vitrum* 2004, no. 4.16). The portraits and portrait-style depictions of secular figures in the British Museum collection are discussed below under the appropriate subheadings. The general trends occurring in the various portraits and portrait-style depictions of secular figures in gold glass are summarized at the end of the chapter.

#### **Naturalistic portraiture (Appendix 1 no. 44)**

In this thesis, the term 'naturalistic' is taken to mean the detailed and realistic portrayal of the individual physical features of the person or persons depicted in a quality akin to a photograph. Illustrated below in Figure 34 and intended from its

conception as a medallion, the British Museum piece number **44** constitutes the only example of naturalistic portraiture in the British Museum collection of gold glass. Taking the form of a brushed technique sandwich-glass medallion, the piece depicts within its thin circular single line border the single bust of a youthful-looking male figure. He has short curled hair and a closely cropped beard. The bust is placed on a translucent dark blue glass background, giving prominence to the image. Surface damage has unfortunately rendered his costume illegible, although a fold in what may have been a tunic is visible, running from the figure's right shoulder down across his chest. Beside the portrait bust in the left hand panel of the field is depicted a miniature standard. It consists of two lateral hoops set within a frame, possibly intended to represent openwork or *opus interrasile*. The standard is surmounted by two confronted rampant lions positioned on either side of a central ornamented terminal. It rests on a horizontal base.



**Figure 34.** The brushed technique gold glass medallion number **44** in the British Museum collection (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The standard depicted upon the British Museum gold glass closely resembles a number of third-century bronze standards identified with professional associations, in this

instance those of the sports related 'collegia iuvenum', from across the Roman Empire (Arce 1984; Faider-Feytmans 1984; Veny 2003). Like that illustrated on the British Museum medallion (44), each of the standards has two large blank hoops set side by side in an intricate bronze frame. The example from Pollentia (Mallorca), now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (inv. no. 1927/64/7) also incorporates *opus interrasile*, whilst examples from Athens (now in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, Faider-Feytmans 1984, fig. 5) and Flobecq, Belgium (now in the Musée Cinquenaire, Brussels, inv. no. B5569), like that on the British Museum medallion, both have rampant lions on the upper part of the frame. Each also includes additional physically smaller deities, predominantly related to games or the amphitheatre (Arce 1984, p. 36), hence the identification with the 'collegia iuvenum'. The standards were used in processions or on other civic occasions (Arce 1984, p. 36). The figure depicted on the British Museum gold glass was likely to represent a member of a 'collegia iuvenum', a sports club for freeborn youths.

As discussed in Chapter Two, brushed technique medallions received the particular attention of antiquities forgers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The vast majority of brushed technique gold glasses known to be genuine beyond any reasonable doubt depict naturalistic 'portraits proper' in medallion form set within a thin perfectly circular single line frame (*imago clipeata*). Like the British Museum piece, figures appear as half or quarter-length busts in what has been alluded to as striking, almost photographic, detail (Elsner 1998, p. 97). Each is given prominence by a translucent cobalt blue-glass backing. Like the British Museum example (44), medallions appear to most often depict the bust portraits of single adult males (see also Figure 33 & Heintze 1964, figs. 26.1-2, 4). Single adult females with one or more infants or youths are also often depicted. The most celebrated brushed technique gold glass, the Brescia Medallion, depicts an adult female accompanied by an adolescent boy and girl (Morey 1959, pl. XXV, no. 237). An adult female is also depicted accompanied by a single male infant upon a second piece in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 1917, 17.190.109) illustrated in Figure 22 above. No genuine surviving piece depicts either a single adult female, or an adult male accompanied by one or

more juveniles. No example is known to include more than one adult on the same piece.

Although not present on the British Museum piece, short inscriptions do sometimes occur in association with portraits on genuine brushed technique medallions. In instances where they have been recorded, they are exclusively produced in Greek in the Alexandrian dialect of Egypt (Crum, in Breck 1926/1927, p. 353). These inscriptions sometimes take the form of prominent assertions of skill or virtue (e.g. *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, no. 153). However, shorter less prominent inscriptions are apparently more common. The inscription BOYNNEDI KEPAMI on the Brescia medallion depicting an adult female and two youths, possibly a mother and her two children, was interpreted by Albizzati as referring to the 'father of the family', who, it should be noted, is missing from the scene (Albizzati 1914, p. 253). Morey, however, states that the small inscription is the signature of the artist, and that KEPAMI, or 'potter', may just as well denote a glass-worker (Morey 1942, p. 216; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 265).

The only large corpus of material comparable to the gold glass brushed technique portrait medallions is the panel-painted mummy portraits from Egypt. These have been recovered predominantly from the Oasis of Fayum, surviving due to uniquely dry conditions of preservation. Dated to the third and very early fourth centuries AD (Fleischer 2001, p. 54), they are of increased significance in light of the Egyptian dialect inscriptions accompanying a number of the brushed technique glasses. Like gold glass portrait medallions, the Fayum mummy portraits predominantly depict the portraits of individual people, both male and female. Recent analysis, however, has suggested that only the facial features of the portraits are in fact individualised; the costume and jewellery covering the chest and shoulders of the subject are generic (Prag 2002, pp. 59-60). Although a more detailed study is needed, a similar scenario in the case of brushed technique gold glasses can be suggested. Recent work by Prag employing facial reconstruction techniques to skulls surviving alongside their associated mummy portrait convincingly argues for a 'production line in which each painter built up his own formulae and his own tricks', with the repetitive and formulaic use of proportion whilst still endeavouring to capture the likeness of the subject (Prag 2002, p. 59-62).

The similarity of the Victoria and Albert gold glass portrait medallion illustrated in Figure 33 (above) with others from the Vatican Museum (inv. no. 700 (ex-469); Morey 1959, pl. I, no. 3) and the Catacomb of Panfilo, Rome (Morey 1959, pl. XXIV no. 222), might suggest that the same practice was employed in brushed technique gold glass medallions.

### **Portrait-style depictions of single individuals (Appendix 1 nos. 12, 14 & 37)**

Secular individuals produced in the linear style cut and incised technique occurs exclusively upon sandwich-glass vessel bases in the extensive catalogue published by Morey (1959). The three examples in the British Museum collection, all occurring on sandwich-glass vessel bases, are numbered **12**, **14** and **37**. Unlike brushed technique medallions, portrait-style depictions of secular individuals appear evenly weighted between adult male and female subjects. In every instance, portraits take the form of quarter-length busts. No gold glass cut and incised technique portrait-style depictions of unaccompanied infants occur anywhere in Morey's 1959 catalogue or from other published sources and collections known to me.

Of the gold glass cut and incised portrait-style depictions of individual people in the British Museum collection, numbers **12** and **14** are extremely badly damaged. Number **14** in particular has been rendered almost illegible through both fragmentation and abrasive action. Despite this, illustrations of both pieces depicting the iconography in a rather less damaged state are included in the nineteenth-century work of Garrucci (Garrucci 1872-1880 vol. 3, pls. 200.5 & 200.4 respectively). I found Garrucci's illustrations regarding all other examples of British Museum gold glass to be extremely accurate. As such, they can be reproduced here with little difficulty. Visible only through very careful examination, the remaining iconography of numbers **12** and **14** that can be discerned does indeed relate precisely to Garrucci's illustrations of the objects. Whilst Garrucci's illustrations are presented for numbers **12** and **14** and referred to in the accompanying discussion, colour photographs of both objects as they currently appear are included under their respective catalogue entries in Appendix 1.

Illustrated in Figure 35, Garrucci's line drawing of number **12** in the British Museum collection depicts the quarter-length bust of a single secular adult female figure, her head slightly turned to the left of the field. Her hair is swept back behind her ears and falls in two thin curled strands on both shoulders. Above or perhaps on top of her head is a single ring. She is dressed in a tunic (the image is unfortunately too badly fragmented to make any further identification) and plain palla worn diagonally across the body. She holds a scroll with both hands. Located in the field, upon either side of her head are, to the left, a further scroll, and to the right, an open diptych. The field surrounding the portrait-style bust is enclosed by a circular double-band border containing the inscription reconstructed as BI[b]ASPA[re]NIB[us]TVISV[ir]OTVO. The most convincing reading is 'bibas parentibus tuis viro tuo'. Cameron interprets 'bibatis', meaning 'drink' to have been interchangeable with 'vivatis', meaning life and, however spelt, understood in both senses (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 298). The inscription thus reads 'drink/life to your parents [and] to your husband'.



**Figure 35.** Garrucci's illustration of number **12** in the British Museum collection (after Garrucci 1872-1880 vol. 3, pl. 200.5).

The single ring placed above the head of the female figure in the British Museum gold glass number **12** is not paralleled in any other form of contemporary figural representation. This would suggest that it is intended to be part of the hair style, as

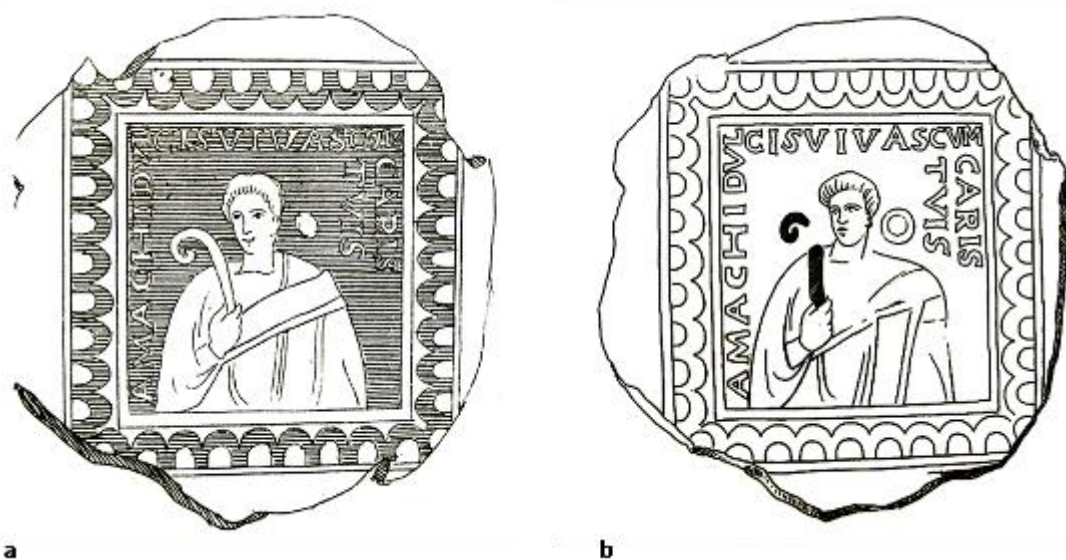
has been suggested for excavated finds of contemporary glass, jet and bronze rings too small to serve as bracelets (Lawson 1976, p. 247). It is also supported by the coiffure of the female child in a 'family group' gold glass illustrated by Garrucci, which clearly illustrates a single ring as part of the hair ornamentation (Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 199.1; *Sotheby's* 1987, no. 124). A single ring also appears as part of Eve's hair ornamentation upon the diminutive medallion wrongly attributed to the British Museum collection by Iozzi in 1900, illustrated in Figure 1a (now in the Corning Museum of Glass, inv. no. 1966.1.202; Whitehouse 2002, no. 833).

The 'palla', occurring generically upon all cut and incised gold glasses depicting secular woman, remained almost unchanged throughout the entire Roman period (Croom 2000, p. 89). It was not a fastened garment, but one that instead relied upon drapery and thus is predominantly shown in Roman art either held with one hand or instead with one hand completely hidden inside. Less commonly, and apparently never in generic depictions, the 'palla' is shown knotted (e.g. upon the Brescia medallion, Morey 1959, pl. XXV, no. 237), allowing both hands to remain free. The 'palla' was ultimately unsuitable for any practical activity and has thus been deemed a mark of the upper-class female (*Palla* in Cleland *et al.* 2007, pp. 136-7).

Literacy in the late antiquity has been calculated by Harris at around 10 per cent of the total population (Harris 1989, p. 272), and even in cities such as Rome, never exceeding 15-20 per cent (Gamble 1995, pp. 4-5). The appearance of a scroll, the most common object held in the hands of figures depicted in cut and incised gold glass, is therefore likely to be intended as an indicator of literacy and thus a mark of high status. The holding of the scroll at either end in this manner is a standard formula occurring throughout gold glass portraiture and in other media, notably sarcophagi 'imago clipeata'. The additional scroll appearing in the field of the British Museum piece (12) places further emphasis upon the intention to portray the figural subject as a person of intellect and education, and thus status. The open diptych, also depicted upon this piece, is paralleled only on one other instance of gold glass, now in the Vatican Museum (inv. no. 638 (ex-221); Morey 1959, pl. XXIII no. 193). Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that, along with the scroll, the diptych constitutes a marker of literacy and thus intellect and education, and is therefore also indicative of high status.



The second example of a portrait-style depiction of an individual person in the British Museum collection is number **14**. It is, as already stated, very badly damaged and in its current state all but illegible (see catalogue entry in Appendix 1). Both the illustration of Buonarruoti in 1716 and that of Garrucci far later in 1858, illustrated in Figure 36a and b respectively, depict the piece as somewhat worn, specifically the figure's clothing. However, easily discernable centrally positioned within the double square border enclosing a reciprocal half circle pattern is the three quarter length bust of a single short-haired and beardless male figure. His head is slightly turned to the left of the field. He wears what appears to be a toga contabulata and carries a curved staff. Garrucci depicts the staff as shaded, his usual convention for indicating over-painted red enamelled detail. In the field, aligned to the square border and surrounding the figure is the inscription AMACHIDVL CISVIVASCVM CARIS TVIS, the most convincing reading being 'Amachi dulcis vivas cum caris tuis', 'Amachi may you live sweetly/pleasantly with those that are dear to you'. Amachi is probably a shortened form of the male name Amachius, known to have been in use in the fourth century (Jones *et al.* 1971, p. 50).



**Figure 36.** Gold glass number **14** in the British Museum collection, illustrations (a) after Buonarruoti (1716, pl. XIX.1) and (b) Garrucci (1872-1880 vol. 3, pl. 200.4).

Beards were unusual in late fourth-century Rome, and as such occur very rarely in secular art. Instead, the prevailing image of the adult male in all forms of Late Roman

art, not least in gold glass, is of the type observed in **14**, a clean-shaven face and crew-cut hair. This style is broadly attributed to fourth-century emperors (Croom 2000, p. 67). Indeed, the pagan emperor Julian (AD 361-363), who himself wore a beard, wrote a satirical essay during his reign entitled the 'Misopogon', or 'Beard-hater' in which he recalled the ridicule he had suffered prior to the start of his reign when beards were unfashionable (Julian the Apostate, *Misopogon*, translation by Wright 1913, 338B-D). Akin to the fashionable trend and artistic language of fourth-century Rome, no portrait-style depiction of a secular male figure in cut and incised gold glass is overtly depicted as being bearded, balding or with long hair. Indeed, the wearing of long hair was frowned upon in the contemporary Theodosian Code of laws (382 AD) as part of legislation against barbarian practices (*Cod. Theo.* 14.10.4, translation in Pharr 1952, p. 415).

The toga contabulata, literally meaning 'many folds', most likely represented upon **14**, was the standard formal male costume in fourth-century Rome and is the most common type of costume worn by secular males in gold glass portrait-style depictions. The comparative frequency of depiction in the context of portraiture both in gold glass and in other contemporary media such as sarcophagi imago clipeata suggests that this garment was worn as 'best' by all men of standing much the same as the modern suit and tie. Indeed, a sumptuary law of 382 AD stated that the toga should be reserved only for special or state occasions (*Cod. Theo.* 14.10.1, translation in Wilson 1938, p. 92; see also: Pharr 1952, p. 415). Much like the female palla, the toga contabulata was therefore very much a mark of status and possibly wealth.

The only attribute occurring upon the British Museum piece number **14** appears in the field to the right of the figure's head when the object is viewed from above. Illustrated in Figure 39a, Buonarruoti depicts this as a single circular disc (Buonarruoti 1716, pl. XIX, fig. 1). Reproduced in Figure 39b, Garrucci instead depicts this as a single simple ring (Garrucci 1872-1880 vol. 3, pl. 200.4). No other gold glass includes the depiction of a single simple ring as an associated attribute, either in field besides the subject or anywhere else. When the worn nature of the iconography is taken into account (note the lack of costume detail) it is not unreasonable, and is in fact most probable to suggest that what Garrucci mistook to be a ring is in fact the disc illustrated by

Buonarruoti, which has suffered from further abrasion during the intervening period. In line with the majority of secular individual portraiture, this motif may simply represent a dot, quatrefoil or another form of leaf-spray design, of the type Morey (1959) aptly described as 'space-fillers'.

The enamelled curved staff upon number **14** is a singular occurrence in gold glass. Dalton suggested that it is curved like a 'lituus' or 'pedum' (Dalton 1901b, p. 118, no. 604). The former was carried as a badge of office by a pagan augur or priest and used in the demarcation of sacred space (Creighton 2000, p. 210). The latter, based upon the shepherd's crook, functioned in a Christian context as a pastoral staff. With regard to the latter identification, however, the figure does not wear the tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type associated in all other gold glass depictions with deceased Christian bishops and portraits of other saints, discussed in detail in Chapter Six. Furthermore, it is notable that in the illustrations of both Buonarruoti and of Garrucci (Figure 36a-b), the staff does not extend below the hand of the figure. It is thus more likely that it represents, if either, the shorter-status imbued lituus given further prominence through over-painted enamel. The man depicted upon gold glass number **14** in the British Museum collection may thus have been an augur.

The pagan augur Amachius depicted in gold glass number **14** may perhaps be associated with Flavius Amachius, governor of Phrygia from 361 to 363 AD (Jones *et al.* 1971, vol. 1, p. 50), argued below in Chapter Nine to be the very period in which gold glass was produced. Like the Amachius in the British Museum gold glass, Flavius Amachius was a pagan. As governor of Phrygia, Flavius Amachius achieved notoriety amongst Christians for the reopening and renovation of disused pagan temples, and executed Christians who attempted to destroy the statues they contained (Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History, Book III Chapter 15, Martyrs at Merum in Phrygia, under Julian*, translated in Schaff 1886, pp. 164-5). In the Roman world, only men of high social rank could attain the rank of augur and, as a provincial governor responsible for the attempted revival of paganism, Flavius Amachius would certainly have been eligible.

Number **37** in the British Museum collection also depicts a short-haired and beardless male. The upper surface of the glass is covered with a fine layer of iridescence, making

the iconography visible to a greater extent from the reverse, and is illustrated as such in Figure 37. The piece is illustrated from the obverse in Appendix 1. Rather than the toga contabulata, occurring far more frequently upon gold glass and indeed the majority of other media, the figure wears a long-sleeved tunic, his right sleeve cross-hatched to indicate embroidery, and the chlamys fastened by a prominent crossbow brooch on his right shoulder. His head is turned slightly to the left of the field. In the field appearing upon both sides of the figure's head is depicted, to the right, a further scroll, and to the left, an inkpot and case containing three styli.



**Figure 37.** Gold glass number **37** in the British Museum collection, photographed from the reverse (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The field surrounding the portrait-style bust is enclosed by a double ring border, akin to that on number **12**. In this example, however, the majority of the outer band has been ground away, probably in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. The space between contains the inscription, commencing with a leaf spray at the apex, EVM[...]A.VIVE.VIVAS.PIE.ZESES. The phrase PIE ZESES is a Latinized version of the Greek phrase ΠΙΕ ΖΗΣΗΣ, meaning 'drink that you may live' (Dalton 1921, p. 142; Auth

1995, p. 103). EVM[...]A constitutes an unidentifiable personal name; the remainder reads 'live, life, drink that you may live'

The hands of the figure are interpreted both Dalton and Morey as holding a scroll at either end, according to the standardized status-laden formula frequently adopted in gold glass (Dalton 1901b, pp. 118-119, no. 605; Morey 1959, p. 52, no. 300). The lower hand on this example is assumed to have fallen outside the border. Upon close observation and comparison with other gold glass portrait-style images, however, this interpretation is in error. The 'roll' to the bottom right of the figure, interpreted as being the top of a scroll or rotunda in fact conforms more closely to the generic roll of fabric used to indicate the hand upon a number of cut and incised secular portrait-style depictions (e.g. **19** in the British Museum collection). The right hand of the figure in this glass, rather than crossing the chest in order to hold the scroll top, is instead positioned across the body, the index and middle fingers extended but the remainder retracted. This is generally recognized as the Roman gesture of speaking, address and teaching (Brilliant 1963, p. 207; L'Orange 1949, pp. 110-144). As well as occurring widely upon gold glass portrait-style depictions, this gesture is common in contemporary depictions of philosophers (Hanfmann 1951, p. 221) and thus, like the scroll, may be interpreted as an indication of education and intellect.

The embroidered tunic in number **37** is of the type prevalent during the late second and throughout the third century known as the 'dalmaticus' (Pausch 2003, p. 185). In contrast to earlier versions, the fourth-century style 'dalmaticus' had tight-fitting sleeves down to the wrist and was decorated with elaborate embroidery. Embroidered decoration most commonly occurred on the front and back of the shoulders (which could be either round or square) and in bands on the sleeves (Croom 2000, p. 33), as generically shown upon the British Museum gold glass. Embellishment in this fashion was a visible indication of wealth and status. The 'chlamys' was a cloak of Greek origin, but the term was used throughout Late Antiquity to refer to the short cloak worn by contemporary soldiers, hunters and horsemen (Ball 2005, p. 30) developing out of the 'paludamentum', the cloak of a Roman army general. In the fourth century, the chlamys was increasingly worn by the emperor and civic officials (Croom 2000, p. 51), symbolising both legitimate authority and honour (Wild 1968, pp. 225-6; *chlamys* in

Cleland *et al.* 2007, pp. 137-138). The crossbow brooch was itself a symbol of rank and high status, often being large in size and made of precious metals, such as those in silver found as part of the Esquiline treasure (Shelton 1981, pls. 47, 49-50).

The proliferation of writing equipment upon gold glass number **37** in the British Museum collection led Dalton to suggest that the man depicted was a scribe (Dalton 1901b, pp. 118-119). The literary-attributes upon number **37**, however, are more likely to function simply as indicators of education and intellect, and thus high status. This is certainly true of the gesture of address. This is also true regarding the chlamys fastened by a crossbow brooch. This garment was indeed increasingly worn by civic officials at this date, but may also be depicted here purely as an indicator of rank and status. Furthermore, the inkpot and styli are far from unique. They occur depicted in the same apparently standardized fashion from the contemporary engraved decoration from S. Lorenzo in Rome (Perret 1851-1855, vol. 5, pl. LXXIII, fig. 6; Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 6, p. 155, pl. 488.20). Gold glass number **37** is certainly not unique in its depiction of a single individual in gold glass. A duplicate piece, identical in costume and literacy-related attributes is present within the Vatican Museum collections (inv. no. 620 (ex-0012); Morey 1959, pl. VII, no. 42). The object differs only in terms of the personal name and exact wording of the inscription, also a generic wish for life and good health.

Generic indicators of wealth and high status, often further highlighted with over-painted enamel, are depicted in association with every secular person depicted in cut and incised technique gold glass. This appears at odds with the less than aristocratic material value advocated for the medium in Chapter Four. However, rather than being genuine indications of the wealth and status of the person depicted, these features in the majority of cases appear instead to constitute only idealised attributes. Indeed, they can be paralleled in the vast majority of other contemporary media which aptly demonstrates that these attributes are a generic feature of the artistic language of fourth-century Rome and thus not specific to gold glass. The attributes of wealth and high status in gold glass are furthermore generically applied even when the person depicted, such as Amachius in number **14**, may well have been genuinely entitled to them. This feature is also paralleled in other contemporary media, however, and is

exemplified by the very high status silver Projecta Casket in the British Museum (BM P&E 1866.12-29.1; Elsner 3003a, fig. 4.14). The Projecta casket depicts on its lid the generic busts of a 'married couple' with all of the attributes of wealth and status accompanied, like gold glass, by identifying name labels. The accompanying inscription identifying the figures on the Projecta Casket has been applied separately, however, transforming the generic portrait-style depictions into representations of specific individuals in the same way as on gold glass.

Akin to gold glass, the portrait-style depictions of individual people in other media, most often upon sarcophagi, occur far less often than those of 'married couples'. Where they do occur, however, like gold glass they predominantly take the form of generic quarter-turned busts. Upon contemporary sarcophagi, individual secular male figures often present near identical parallels to those in gold glass. In such instances they appear as beardless quarter-turned busts, with short closely-cropped hair and wearing the status-imbued toga contabulata (e.g. Christern-Briesenick 2003, pl. 79, no. 305). As in gold glass, figures also often grasp scrolls as a marker of intellect and education, and thus wealth and status (e.g. Christern-Briesenick 2003, pl. 65, no. 245). Individual busts of secular females on contemporary sarcophagi also appear closely akin to those upon gold glass. In many cases they are shown with the same visible indications of wealth and status through hairstyle, costume and jewellery as their gold glass counterparts (Christern-Briesenick 2003, pl. 17, no. 49.5).

In other instances, however, whilst conforming to the same overall format, secular figures take on a distinctly different appearance. In some sarcophagi, the heads of individual secular figures, occasionally bearded, are depicted in profile (e.g. Christern-Briesenick 2003, pl. 135, no. 548), or fully frontal and with curly hair (Christern-Briesenick 2003, pl. 27, no. 73). In other examples, the person depicted appears orant (Dresken-Weiland 1998, pl. 14, no. 33). This does not occur on any surviving gold glass known to me. Females upon contemporary sarcophagi also show a far wider variety of hairstyles compared with those in gold glass. Although gold glass does adhere to the fourth-century artistic language of Rome, it would appear that a far narrower range of available types and individual elements in circulation were employed.

### Portrait-style depictions of 'married couples' (Appendix 1 nos. 3, 19, 27 & 45)

Gold glass paired portrait-style depictions of paired secular figures produced in the linear-style cut and incised technique occur exclusively upon sandwich-glass vessel bases in the extensive corpus published by Morey in 1959. The British Museum collection includes four examples, all sandwich-glass vessel bases, numbered **3**, **19**, **27** and **45**. Number **3** is fragmented; only the lower half remains. Paired portraits exclusively take the form of busts which depict a single adult male and female only. In past literature, they have been almost entirely referred to as 'married couples' (e.g. Wiseman 1859, p. 208; Dalton 1901a p. 225; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, nos. 155-7; Grig 2004, p. 207). The majority also include a central diminutive figure. Gold glass numbers **19** and **27** in the British Museum collection, however, are the only pieces known to me where this central diminutive figure represents someone other than Christ.

Illustrated in Figure 38, number **19** in the British Museum collection depicts two quarter-length busts inside a double band inscription-enclosed border. To the right of the field is depicted an adult male, beardless and shorthaired. He wears a toga contabulata and tunic with a red enamel over-painted strip (clavus) on his right shoulder. To the left of the field is an adult female, her face framed by the curls of her hair. She wears upon her head what both 'Glass of the Caesars' and 'Byzantium' describe as a diadem with white enamel ornamented terminals or gems and pearls at either side (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, no. 155; *Byzantium* 1994, no. 9b). Morey, however, refers to the same style as 'the hair waved around the face covering the ears, plaited over the cranium and behind the head and terminating in projecting rolls at the tape of the neck with enamel over-painted earrings' (Morey 1959, p. 54, no. 315).

On the close examination of number **19** and other examples in Morey's extensive catalogue, represented in slightly different ways by different artists or craftsmen (for example the British Museum pieces **27** and **45**), Morey's description of hairstyle appears to be the more accurate account. The style is of the type dubbed the 'Scheitelzopf', introduced by empresses in the mid third century and paralleled in imperial portrait statues dated to the early fourth century (e.g. Calza 1972, no. 23; *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 363, p. 408). Upon highly generic examples such as the British



Museum gold glass number **19**, the long tresses swept back over the ears produce the deceptive impression of a diadem, or even a thin scarf or snood (e.g. *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 268).



**Figure 38.** Gold glass number **19** in the British Museum collection, depicting the paired busts of Orfitus and Constantia alongside a diminutive figure of Heracles (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Around her neck, the female figure wears a complex jewelled collar comprising of four rows, two of small red enamel over-painted representations of stones, one of greenish white over-painted oblong plaques and below, a row of white enamel over-painted pendants. These possibly represent pearls. She wears a tunic and dress in a similar generic style to her husband's toga. The hands of each figure are represented by generic rolls of costume. At shoulder height, between the couple on a dish-shaped stand, is depicted a full-length beaded male figure representing Hercules, half turned to the right. He is dressed in the skin of the Nemean lion, acquired after the completion of the first of his twelve labours, and holds a club in his right hand. In his

left hand he holds three apples of the Hesperides, over-painted in green enamel. The apples represent Hercules' final task, plucked from the tree planted from the golden apples given to Zeus and Hera as a wedding present by the earth goddess Gaia. They thus represent symbols of marriage and fertility.

The inscription upon number **19**, is unusual in that it deviates from the standard set of generic wishes for life and health apparent upon almost all other examples of cut and incised gold glass. Enclosed within the border it reads ORFITVS.ET CONSTANTIA.IN NOMINE HERCVLIS, transcribed as 'Orfitus et Constantia. In nomine Herculis', and translated as 'Orfitus and Constantia, in the name of Hercules'. The male figure labelled as Orfitus on gold glass number **19** is identified by Alan Cameron as Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, prefect of Rome in every January except that of 357 between 354 and 359 AD. As noted by Alan Cameron (1996, p. 300), Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus is the only Orfitus known from the fourth century, and, like the man in the gold glass, was a pagan. In addition to this, gold glass number **19** is the only piece known to me to include a specific dedicatory inscription rather than the more usual generic wishes for life and health.

Within the field, the inscription reads ACERENTINO FELICES BIBATIS, transcribed as 'Acerentino felices bibatis'. Most recent authorities have assumed that ACRENTINO is an error for the genitive 'Acerentini', and that Acerentini itself is a misspelling of the biform of 'Acheruntius' or 'Acheronticus', 'of or pertaining to Acheron', the Underworld (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 296). 'Glass of the Caesars' and 'Byzantium' both treat the inscription as continuous, and translate it as 'Orfitus and Constantia, live happily in the name of Hercules, the conqueror of the Underworld' (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, no. 155; *Byzantium* 1994, no. 9b). As early as 1859, however, Cavedoni, reinforced later in 1891 by Mommsen in the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum', noted that ACRENTINO almost certainly refers to the small Roman town of Acerentia in southern Italy (Cavedoni 1859, pp. 34-5; *CIL* XV.7036)

This interpretation was more than convincingly demonstrated by Alan Cameron in 1996, who further noted that Acerentia had its own cult of Hercules and, a small but flourishing town in the fourth century AD, was set within a known wine producing

region (Alan Cameron 1996, pp. 296-297). Mommsen initially translated *Acerentino felices bibatis* upon number **19** as ‘enjoy the wine of Acerentia’, and thus separate from the inscription within the circular border (*CIL* XV.7036). Whilst Cameron accepts this translation, he also notes that if the inscription ‘Orfitus et Constantia, In nomine Herculis’ as part of the border and ‘Acerentino felices bibatis’ in the field were intended to be read as continuous, it would instead read ‘Orfitus and Constantia, may you live/drink in happiness in the name of Hercules of Acerentia’ (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 298). Both are acceptable translations, and, either way, refer to the small town of Acerentia (modern day Acerenza) situated in Italy on the border of Lucania and Apulia.



**Figure 39.** Gold glass number **27** in the British Museum collection depicting a ‘married couple’ alongside a central diminutive figure of Cupid (Photograph: S. Crummy, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The vast majority of adult male and female paired portrait-style depictions in gold glass generally follow the standard pattern exemplified in number **19**. Individual examples differ only in specific aspects of style and inscription. Within its circular single line border, number **27** in the British Museum collection also depicts two half-length busts. The iconography of the piece does not show up clearly, and as such is presented photographed upon a black background in Figure 39. To the right, an adult male is

depicted, beardless and with short curly hair. He wears a toga contabulata and holds a scroll with both hands; the first two fingers of his right hand are extended, perhaps incorporating the gesture of speech and teaching. The woman appears on the left, slightly concealed and overlapped by the right arm of the male figure. Akin to number **19**, although slightly less generic, her hairstyle takes the form of the 'Scheitelzopf'. Her face is framed by the curls of her hair below a thin band or possibly a diadem, neatly drawn back in plaits and finishes on the crown of her head coiled in a net. She is dressed in a tunic engraved with spirals to suggest an embroidered richly-patterned dress and holds a scroll with both hands; the fingers of her right hand are extended in a similar manner to the male figure. A space-filling flower spray is depicted on either side of the couple.

At shoulder height between the two busts upon number **27** is depicted a full length depiction of a male naked winged figure, beardless and with short curly hair. This figure has crossed legs and hands outstretched behind the heads of the couple. His face is turned towards the female figure, whilst his body is slightly turned towards the male. Originally identified as an angel (Garrucci 1858, pp. 57-8) it has since been reinterpreted as a winged Cupid, depicted as a youth (Dalton 1901b, no. 612; Walter 1979, p. 84). In the field, curved in accordance with the inner edge of the border, is the generic inscription [...]NE. TZVCINVS. BIBITE, the text punctuated with heart shaped leaves. The most convincing reading and translation of the inscription is '[...]ne Tzucinvs drink/live'. Tzucinvs thus constitutes the personal name of the male figure; presumably the obscured word preceding it named the female.

Number **45** in the British Museum is again similar. A thin film of iridescence covers the surface of the piece and obscures the iconographic detail; however, the image becomes far clearer from the reverse when viewed upon a black background, as illustrated in Figure 40 (the piece is shown from the obverse in Appendix 1). Within the single perfectly circular wide band border are depicted two quarter-length busts. To the right of the field is depicted a man, beardless with short curly hair and wearing a toga contabulata with red enamel over-painted clavus on his right shoulder. To the left, a woman, her hair is again in the style of the 'Scheitelzopf', neatly drawn back in plaits finishing upon her cranium coiled in a net, with a row of small curls on her

forehead. She wears earrings and a necklace over-painted in green enamel, and is clothed in a richly patterned tunic and palla. The heads of both figures are slightly turned inwards towards the centre of the field and each other.



**Figure 40.** Gold glass number **45** in the British Museum collection, viewed from the reverse and on a black background making the iconography more visible (Photograph S. Crummy, © Trustees of the British Museum).

At shoulder height between the heads of the couple is depicted a full-length adult male figure, his head turned slightly to the right. He is short haired and beardless, giving him a youthful complexion, and is dressed in a tunic and pallium with over-painted red clavus. His arms are outstretched and he holds in each hand a crown over the heads of both the man and woman. With the exception of numbers **19** and **27** in the British Museum collection, the central diminutive figure on every 'married couple' gold glass known to me takes this form. Although not identified on this piece, the same figure is labelled as Christ on two other examples, crowning the paired portraits of Saints Peter and Paul (Vatican Museum, inv. no. 729 (ex-485); Morey 1959, pl. VIII, no. 50; and Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 184.3, now lost; see also Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, inv. no. 4567, Zanchi Roppo 1969, no. 258). In the field, curved in

accordance with the inner edge of the circular border, is the generic inscription DVLCI S A NI MAVIVAS, 'Dulcis anima vivas', the most convincing reading being 'sweet-heart may you live'.

Whilst these three pieces constitute almost complete vessel bases, allowing the iconography of each to be easily discerned, the complete upper half of number **3** in the British Museum collection has been broken away. The costume and composition is nevertheless indicative of an adult female to the left of the field, wearing a richly embroidered mantle. To the right, abutting but not overlapping the female, is depicted a male figure; the folds of his costume most probably illustrate the toga contabulata. The similarity with other adult male and female paired portraiture gold glasses leaves little doubt of its attribution to this category.

The compositional significance of paired portrait busts is not complex: just as the figures complement one another within the compositional field they share, so they complement one another spiritually (Vikan 1990, p. 148). In the imperial sphere, paired profile busts were employed on contemporary coinage and medallions (e.g. Kent 1978, nos. 156, 188, 219, 258, 276, 351, 383, 389, 457, 480, 523, 578, 643, 707; *Age of Spirituality* 1979, nos. 31 and 32) and was intended to evoke familial solidarity and or imperial harmony between co-emperors, ultimately indicating that joint rule was not divided rule (Walter 1971, p. 276). On this basis, the paired portrait-style depictions of secular men and woman are indeed likely to have been 'married couples'.

Many of the physical details and indicators of status attributed to secular 'married couples' are generally the same as those found in the gold glass portrait-style depictions of secular individuals noted above. They also place an emphasis on idealised wealth and status through associated attributes, often given further prominence through over-painted enamel. Male figures are again depicted as short-haired and beardless, whilst male costume is restricted almost exclusively to the toga contabulata, a mark of status and possibly wealth, often with **(19, 45)** but occasionally without **(27)** the clavus on the right shoulder. The clavus, a strip of red linen applied to the right shoulder of the toga further acted as a specific indicator of status (*clavus* in Cleland *et*

*al.* 2007, p. 35). As such, it is over-painted in red enamel in many instances upon gold glass, bringing it to further prominence. Examples of the *dalmaticus* worn with the *chlamys* fastened by a large crossbow brooch, again a mark of high status, also occur on the portrait-style depictions of 'married couples' (e.g. Barkóczy 1988, no. 550; Morey 1959, pl. XVII, no. 99). As is the case with the portrait-style depictions of individual people in gold glass, it occurs far less frequently than the *toga contabulata*. No examples are present in the British Museum collection.

Additional details pertaining to females on gold glass 'married couple' portrait-style depictions include the elaborate patterns occurring upon many instances of female costume, indicating a richly embroidered fabric and thus wealth. Furthermore, female figures upon paired portraiture are depicted near invariably wearing a wide jewelled collar and jewelled earrings, often, such as on the British Museum piece numbers **19** and **45**, given further prominence with over-painted enamel detail. The ostentatious display of jewellery in this fashion was intended to provide a generic impression of idealised wealth and high status.

Instances of 'married couple' portrait-style depictions in gold glass on which the hands of both figures are not shown, exemplified by the three of the four glasses in the British Museum collection numbers **3**, **19** and **45**, are comparatively rare occurrences. Few are included in Morey's extensive catalogue. Figures, both male and female, are more frequently shown with a scroll, the symbol of intellect, held at the top and bottom by both hands respectively, the upper hand also incorporating the gesture of address and teaching as illustrated in the British Museum piece **27**. Alternatively, a scroll may be held by the male alone, the female being empty-handed. In other cases, the male figure may hold his hand in the gesture of speech whilst the female either carries a scroll or with her hands not depicted, apparently reflecting upon his address. No instances of female speech gestures accompanied by a 'silent' scroll-carrying male occur. Men and woman are rarely shown as equals regarding symbols of intellect; it is always the male rather than the female figure who assumes the position of prominence.

The superiority of the male in 'married couple' gold glass portrait-style depictions may be further emphasised in the position the man adopts within the field. 'Married couple' glasses in Morey's extensive catalogue, and other pieces not published by Morey but published in other publications and collections, always depict the man to the right of the field when the object is viewed from above. Often (e.g. **27**), but not exclusively (e.g. **3**, **19**), the male figure slightly overlaps the female. In only rare instances (e.g. **45**) is it the woman who slightly overlaps the man. This formula, given the apparent superiority of the male indicated through the associated attributes of intellect granted in gold glass to him, often at the expense of the female, may perhaps indicate the right of the field when viewed from above to have been considered in some way superior to the left.

Full-length diminutive personifications are characteristic of portrait-style depictions of 'married couples' in gold glass. These figures, most often identified with Christ (e.g. **45**), are suggestive of the religious inclinations of the couple and appear in the field between their heads. The symbolic formula of employing a central diminutive figure was first produced in art relating to the Roman army (Walter 1971, p. 273). It was employed with the intention of further enhancing the notion of 'concordia' or harmony (Reekmans 1958, pp. 32-7) between the figures depicted as paired portraits or portrait-busts by identifying the reward, belief or authority that united the pair (Vikan 1990, p. 148; Kantorowicz 1960, p. 4-5). This role was increasingly performed by Christ in the period contemporary with gold glass production. Indeed, in the very early fifth century, Severianus of Gabala (*Hermes* XXIX), also transmitted later under the name of Petrus Chrysologus, Bishop of Ravenna, states that: 'When the images of two persons, kings or brothers, are painted, we often notice that the painter, so as to emphasize the unanimity of the couple, places at the back of them a Concordia in female garb. With her arms she embraces both to indicate that the two persons, whose bodies are separated, concur in mind and will. So does now the Peace of the Lord stand in the centre to teach us how separate bodies may become one in spirit' (Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo* CXLIX; translated in Kantorowicz 1960, p. 9). On this basis, and in addition to the pairing of the figures, the portrait-style depictions of men and woman in gold glass may rightly be referred to as 'married couples'.



The British Museum collection includes the only two gold glasses known to me, numbers **19** and **27**, where the more usual diminutive figure of Christ is replaced by one overtly pagan in character. Depicted in the place of Concordia on **27**, Cupid was associated throughout the Roman and Late Antique period with love and sexual desire. He was also worshiped as a fertility god (*Cupid* in Howatson 1989, p. 162), and is thus an apt choice of deity to symbolize marital unity. The presence of Hercules on **19** might have more to do with the fourth-century cult of Hercules present in the town of Acerentia, noted in the unusual dedicatory inscription accompanying the image, rather than because of his suitability for the role of Concordia. Hercules does not reach out to embrace or crown both figures and in so doing indicating that ‘the two persons, whose bodies are separated, concur in mind and will’. Nevertheless, he does carry the apples of the Hesperides, representing symbols of marriage and fertility, and perhaps intended to convey the same notion of marital unity.

Late Antique gold glass portrait-style depictions of ‘married couples’ again relate closely to those in other contemporary media and thus the pictorial language prevalent in fourth-century Rome. Akin to the portrait-style depictions of individual people, however, it would also appear that a far narrower range of available types and individual elements in circulation were employed. The precise composition of secular ‘married couples’ upon gold glass is far from unique. The paired portrait-style busts of men and woman, slightly turned towards the centre, also occur in a range of contemporary media, principally in the secular sphere. Examples include the roundel upon the lid of the silver Projecta casket in the British Museum collection (BM P&E 1866.12-29.1; Elsner 2003a, fig. 4.14) and the vast majority of sarcophagi imago clipeata from Rome.

In more portable ‘minor’ arts, paired busts depicted in the same formulaic manner as they occur in gold glass are also present upon a number of jet pendants, reported, it would seem, throughout the north-western provinces (*Constantine* 2006, no. 106; Hagen 1937, pp. 77-144). Nevertheless, although never appearing in gold glass, some portrait-style depictions of ‘married couples’ in other media, most frequently on sarcophagi imago clipeata, depict the couple either clasping hands (Dresken-Weiland 1998, pl. 57, no. 148) or the woman with her arms around the shoulders of her

husband (Dresken-Weiland 1998, pl. 9, no. 20 & pl. 60, no. 150). Occasionally, such as on the early fifth-century Piazza della Consolazione necklace medallion (Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. Rodgers Fund 1958, 58.12; *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 281) the busts of 'married couples' are presented in profile. Profile busts of secular 'married couples' never feature in gold glass.

In contemporary depictions of 'married couples' in other media, the costumes of men relate closely to those in gold glass. The range of elaborate jewellery as a generic and idealised symbol of status, most notably the wide jewelled collars (Stout 2001), worn by women in gold glass is also paralleled in many sarcophagi *imago clipeata* and upon the Projecta casket. Attributes of wealth and status are thus again a generic feature of the artistic language of fourth-century Rome and not specific to gold glass. An almost identical collar to those depicted in fourth-century art exists amongst the objects of the 'Assiut Treasure' from Egypt (Dennison 1918), in all probability a conflation of several smaller hoards dated from between the third and seventh centuries, and is now in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (inv. no. 30219, 505; *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 284). Nevertheless, sarcophagi *imago clipeata* portrait-style depictions of 'married couples' from Rome demonstrate a higher degree of variation with regard to female costume and hairstyle than is presented in gold glass. The most common difference is the occurrence of marriage-specific female costume in the form of the 'flammeum', the wedding veil of the Roman marriage ceremony (Vikan 1990, p. 157; Follette 2001).

The simultaneous coronation of 'married couples' by a smaller diminutive figure rarely occurs in other contemporary media. To my knowledge, the formula is employed upon a single contemporary sarcophagus from Rome (Wilpert 1932, pl. LXXIV.3), although here it is the secular couple who are depicted full length and the central Christ who appears as a quarter-length bust. A full-length figure performing the simultaneous coronation of a 'married couple' appears on the Piazza della Consolazione marriage necklace. This figure is not accompanied by an identifying inscription, but has been identified with Christ, albeit on the basis of its high degree of similarity with gold glasses (*Age of Spirituality* 1979, p. 307-8, no. 281). Cupid depicted as a putto appears as a central diminutive figure on the fourth-century Brescia diptych (Volbach 1976, no.

66), depicting the mythical marriage of Diana and Endymion, where he simultaneously crowns the couple.

The coronation of a lone emperor by Victory has a long tradition on Roman coinage. The simultaneous coronation of paired emperor busts and full-length depictions by full-length central figures, in a very similar manner to that portrayed on gold glass, occur on rare issues of the late-second to early-fourth centuries the period immediately preceding the production of gold glass (Engemann 1968/1969, fig. 8c-f, the coins depict the emperors Commodus 161-192; Carinus 283-285; Diocletian 284-305; Licinius 308-324; see also Failmezger 2002, pl. 16, nos. 275 & 6LILII). Despite apparently appearing only in rare instances in media other than gold glass, the feature was nevertheless a standard element drawn from the pictorial language already in circulation in fourth-century Rome.

In almost every instance in other contemporary media where a central diminutive figure is not included, like gold glass, it is the male who is shown to the right of the field as the image is viewed. Again like gold glass, he is also depicted as the most superior of the pair through the same associated attributes of intellect employed in gold glass. However, in other media such as the Piazza della Consolazione marriage necklace, which includes a central diminutive figure simultaneously crowning the couple, it is the man who appears to the left of the field when it is viewed from above, and the female who appears to the right. This means that it is the male, apparently the superior of the couple, is crowned by the right hand of Christ, the hand deemed the more important of the two.

In contrast, in gold glass it is the apparently less superior female who is crowned by the right hand of Christ. The diminutive figure of a simultaneously crowning Christ, although present in some instances, is not a common feature of 'married couple' portraits in other media. It is thus possible that the more common standard formula for depicting 'married couples' in contemporary art without an additional diminutive Christ or other deity was adhered to in gold glass, and the crowning figure was inserted as an additional element. This makes gold glass paired portraits crowned

simultaneously by a central figure a conflation of different elements existing within the pictorial language of fourth-century Rome.

### **Portrait-style depictions of ‘family groups’ (Appendix 1 nos. 21 & 23)**

Gold glass portrait-style depictions of secular groups produced in the linear-style cut and incised technique occur on both sandwich-glass vessel bases and gilded plaques (e.g. Vatican Museum inv. no. 787 (ex-344); Morey 1959, pl. XVI, no. 97) in the extensive corpus published by Morey in 1959. In every instance, glasses attributed to this category illustrate a paired adult man and woman, akin to the ‘married couples’ discussed above, accompanied by one or more children. In no instance do the portrait-style depictions of secular groups consist of any other formula such as groups of adults or a single adult with one or more children. They have thus been logically referred to in past literature as ‘family groups’ (e.g. Wiseman 1859, p. 208; Dalton 1901a p. 237; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 267; Grig 2004, p. 205). The British Museum collection includes two examples, both of which are in the form of the more common sandwich-glass vessel bases, numbered **21** and **23**.

Illustrated in Figure 41, number **21** exemplifies the most common formula for cut and incised gold glass secular ‘family group’ portrait-style depictions. Depicted within a circular reciprocal border of triangles, to the right of the field is an adult male, short haired and beardless, turned slightly inwards towards the centre. He wears a toga contabulata. His right hand, with first two fingers extended, appears across his chest in the gesture of speech and address. To the left, an adult female, turned slightly inwards, dressed in a tunic and palla, a wide jewelled collar, necklace and earrings. Her face is framed by the curls of her hair in a generic depiction of the ‘Scheitelzopf’. Between the pair is portrayed a female child. Depicted frontally, the child is dressed in a similar manner to the adult female, but lacks the wide jewelled collar and has her hair drawn up in a knot, or possibly a ring, on the top of her head. Above the shoulders and between the heads of the two adult figures is the chi-rho monogram with re-entrant strokes at the terminals, flanked by two dots. Above the chi-rho, is depicted a

floating crown, of the commonly occurring type described by Morey (1959) as a 'wreath with lemnisci'.



**Figure 41.** Gold glass number **21** in the British Museum collection depicting a 'family group' (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

In the field, curved in accordance with the circular border, is the inscription SEBERECOSMASLEAZES ES, translated as 'Severus [or Severa] Cosmas Lea, drink/live'. Dalton reads SEBERE as Severa, the name of the woman who is depicted directly underneath. Garrucci, however, reads it as the vocative of 'Severus', taking 'Cosmas' as the female name and interpreting the inscription to be a generic wish for life and health, supported by the final word ZESES (life), and not simply as name labels associated with each figure.

Depicted as busts, the paired adult figures in number **21** are portrayed in the exact same manner and with the same physical attributes indicative of idealised wealth and status as the paired busts of 'married couples' discussed above. Gold glass portrait-style depictions of 'married couples', so closely akin to the British Museum 'family

group' that they are perhaps likely to be the product of the same hand, exist in a significant number of instances. A good example, illustrated above in Figure 42, is present within the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Medailles (inv. no. 65.5412; Morey 1959, pl. XXXIII, no. 397). On this piece, even the format of the inscription is identical to number **21** in the British Museum, noting the names of the figures followed by ZESES, the Latinized Greek for 'live'. Other similar pieces are extant in Petit Palais Collection Dutuit, Paris (Morey 1959, pl. XXXIII, no. 418), and the Museo Nazionale, Florence (Morey 1959, pl. XXVI, no. 259).



**Figure 42.** Garrucci's illustration of a gold glass depicting a 'married couple' in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Medailles, Paris (inv. no. 65.5412; after Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 198.1).

The female child depicted in the British Museum piece number **21** represents a standard additional element superimposed upon the already standard formula for portraying 'married couples'. Richly adorned in a similar manner to her mother, she is paralleled almost identically upon a second piece, the whereabouts of which are now lost, illustrated by Garrucci also depicting a 'family group' but also including a male child (Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 199.1; *Sotheby's* 1987, no. 124). It is noticeable that in almost all examples of family group portraiture in Morey's extensive catalogue

including both a male and a female child, the male appears to the left beneath the adult female, whilst the female child appears to the right, next to the adult male.

Illustrated as a line drawing (after Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 198.4) in Figure 45, number **23** in the British Museum also depicts a 'family group'. The iconography of the piece, clearly visible under close inspection, is obscured by cracking in the glass when presented in photographic form. Photographs of the piece are, however, included within Appendix 1. Within the double band border enclosing foliate patterns are depicted the full-length portrait-style depictions of a male adult and child and female adult and child, standing between two trees.



**Figure 43.** Garrucci's illustration of gold glass number **23** in the British Museum collection depicting a 'family group', each member as a full-length figure (after Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 198.4).

The man stands to the right of the field, half turned towards the centre. He is beardless and wears a toga contabulata and sandals. His left hand rests on the shoulder of the girl standing before him. His right hand rests on the left shoulder of the woman. The girl carries a scroll and wears a 'paenula' or 'planeta' with embroidered vertical stripes down the front. She also wears embroidered shoes. Her right hand is extended

towards the male child. To the left stands the adult female, half turned to the left, her face framed by the curls of her hair. She wears a narrow necklace and is dressed in a richly embroidered tunic. She rests her left hand on the left shoulder of the boy. The male child wears a long tunic with circular ornaments on the left shoulder and knees, and boots. In his left hand, he holds a partly opened scroll incised to imitate text, and his right hand is extended as if speaking. Between the heads of the two children is the chi-rho monogram.

In the field between the heads of the two adult figures is the inscription: POMPEIA NETEOD ORAVIBA TIS, 'Pompeiane Theodora vibatis', translated as 'Pompeianus Theodora live'. The names most probably relate to the adult figures, the children being devoid of name labels. Alan Cameron (1996, p. 300; followed by Whitehouse 1996, p. 12) has tentatively, but perhaps rather fancifully, suggested an identification with 'Insteius Pompeianus', suffect consul during the early fourth century and known to have been a Christian from a poem on his tombstone (Jones *et al.* 1971, vol. 1, p. 713). However, unlike the glasses identified with Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus and Flavius Amachius above, the recognition of Insteius Pompeianus on this piece is based on the similarity of the name alone. In the absence of any specific attributes or inscription, a suitable identification for any of the figures depicted is not apparent and it is most likely that they represent otherwise unknown individuals during the later fourth century, the period argued in Chapter Nine for cut and incised gold glass production.

In Morey's extensive catalogue, full-length standing portrait-style depictions of secular 'family groups' in gold glass occur far less frequently than busts. Nevertheless, the majority of the same conventions are used regarding the locations of figures in the field according to gender, the appearance of the figures themselves and the emphasis placed upon wealth and status in the depiction of the costume and associated attributes related to literacy. Despite appearing upon the left of the field in front of what we assume is his mother, the male child is still depicted with an air of superiority over his sister. Whilst the female child carries the status-imbued scroll, her brother's scroll is unfurled as he gestures to her in the mode of address and teaching.



On the British Museum pieces and other cut and incised gold glasses included within Morey's catalogue, central diminutive figures or Concordi simultaneously crowning those depicted in the field are not an associated attribute of any 'family group' portrait-style depictions. Instead, as on rarer examples 'married couple' portrait style depictions, single floating crowns applicable to the whole group are most commonly depicted, followed by scrolls symbolising intellect, quatrefoils, dots and other leaf-spray space-fillers. Both the British Museum glasses also depict the Constantinian chi-rho monogram, suggesting the religious inclination of the group depicted. The full length 'family group' in the British Museum collection (23) is depicted standing between two trees. This format is also used in gold glass portraits of saints and scenic representations of specific Biblical episodes. It was possibly intended to symbolise paradise, or as suggested by Filippini, purity in the form of the 'hortus conclusus' or enclosed garden (Filippini 2000, p. 129).

Contemporary fourth-century representations of 'family groups' in other media are rare. They do not occur upon any sarcophagi *imago clipeata* known to me from published sources and are largely absent from catacomb frescos as well as more minor *objet d'art*. A singular example is however present in the Cimitero Di S. Gennaro Catacomb in Naples (Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 2, pl. 101.2). This depiction shares many of the traits observable upon gold glass examples: the floating crown; the gender informed composition; and the presence of candlesticks upon either side of the group, perhaps representing a similar notion to the 'hortus conclusus' (Noga-Banai 2008, pp. 73-4). The costume and general appearance of the figures differ greatly from those upon gold glass. As with the portrait-style depictions of 'married couples' in gold glass, this might suggest that a greater range of basic iconography was employed for similar depictions in other contemporary media.

### **General trends observable in gold glass portraits and portrait-style depictions of secular people**

Brushed technique gold sandwich-glass portrait medallions depict the highly naturalistic and individualised bust portraits of different people. It would thus appear

impossible to draw out general trends regarding the depiction of facial features. This is, however, not the case with regard to their costume and upper body. Like the Egyptian mummy portraits, it is quite probable that although the faces of the figures depicted are individualised, they appear on generic depictions of the upper body. The British Museum collection includes only one brushed technique portrait medallion, and on that the area of the figures shoulders and chest is badly damaged. It is thus not possible to draw any more solid conclusions here.

In contrast, many general trends are observable in cut and incised technique gold glass portrait-style depictions. The same generic figural representations representative of the stereotypical citizen of fourth-century Rome are repeated regardless of whether they appear individually, as 'married couples', or as 'family groups'. Furthermore, in each instance, the clothing and attributes of each figure strive to emphasise idealised generic wealth and high status, often manifested through education and intellect. Indeed, areas highlighted in over-painted enamel on both male and female figures give further prominence only to specifics of costume related to status with regard to the male and ostentatious displays of generic wealth regarding the female.

Inscriptions accompanying the portrait-style depictions of secular figures in gold glass, regardless of the number of people shown, near exclusively take the form of generic wishes for good health. These often, but not always incorporate the personal names of those depicted. Regardless of the number of figures depicted, secular portrait-style depictions all conform closely to the artistic language prevalent in fourth-century Rome. Despite this, however, a markedly narrower range of figure poses, types of costume and female hairstyles worn appears upon gold glass in comparison with the variety illustrated in other media

The only known people of genuine standing and as such genuinely entitled to ostentatious displays of wealth and status on gold glass are Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus and Flavius Amachius, both of whom appear in the British Museum collection. Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus is depicted along with Constantia, presumably his wife and connected by her name to the imperial family (Alan Cameron 1996, pp. 300-1) on gold glass number **19** in the British Museum collection. Cameron suggests that the unusual

dedicatory inscription on the Orfitus gold glass (**19**) indicates that it was commissioned not by Orfitus himself, but instead by the small town of Acerentia, possibly in honour of its patron. The unusual dedicatory inscription marks this example out as different from all of the others in this category. Indeed, Cameron has noted that the 'vulgar' orthography of the majority of inscriptions does not suggest an elitist market for cut and incised technique gold glasses (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 298). The piece also employs a slightly greater use of over-painted enamel. There are also no sloppy mistakes in the gold leaf incision, characteristic of the vast majority of cut and incised gold glasses.

This apparent superior quality of **19** suggests that this piece and this piece only was intended for an individual of far higher standing than many or all of the other cut and incised gold glasses bearing the portrait-style depictions of secular individuals known to me. Cut and incised gold glass may not have been purchased by aristocrats such as Orfitus who could easily have afforded luxurious silverware. In this instance, however, it was deemed valuable enough by the populace of a small town to be presented as a gift to their aristocratic patron. Relative to the more modest wealth of Acerentia, cut and incised gold glass was thus probably deemed to have been very expensive.

Flavius Amachius has been identified as appearing on a single gold glass (number **14**) in the British Museum collection in this thesis for the first time. As a provincial governor and, as the gold glass depicts him, an augur, Amachius was also a man of genuine wealth and status. Like those depicting Orfitus, gold glasses bearing his portrait-style depiction are unlikely to have been purchased by the aristocratic man himself, who could easily have afforded highly luxurious silver. Instead, it is plausible that wealthy but nonetheless non-aristocratic pagans in fourth-century Rome might have wanted to own a vessel displaying the image of a man intent on the restoration of the old religion, just as many Christians evidently wished to own vessels depicting the likeness of a contemporary bishop, discussed in detail in Chapters Nine and Ten.

It is thus far more likely that gold glasses bearing the image of Flavius Amachius were commissioned by a supporter of his policies rather than by Amachius himself. In this context, Flavius Amachius might well have been treated as a contemporary pagan hero

or 'saint'. Based on the iconographic trends observable in the portrait-style depictions of secular people in gold glass, the following chapter will discuss in detail the portrayal of Christian saints in cut and incised technique gold glass.

## **Chapter 6: The iconography of the British Museum gold glasses: portrait-style depictions of male saints**

The depictions of Christian saints in gold glass only occur as portrait-style depictions on cut and incised technique sandwich-glass vessel bases and diminutive medallions in the extensive catalogue published by Morey (1959). The British Museum collection includes fifteen portrait-style depictions of saints, including examples on both sandwich-glass vessels and diminutive medallions. Many of the examples in the British Museum collection are in an extremely fragmented condition and are identifiable only by comparison with more complete examples in other collections. Furthermore, the British Museum collection illustrates only a small range of types present in Morey's catalogue. Although the portrait-style depictions of female saints occur frequently in Morey's catalogue, the British Museum collection includes only glasses depicting male saints. In this section I will concentrate only on the British Museum glasses, however.

The general formula used for the portrait-style depictions of saints in gold glass is very similar to that employed in the portrait-style depictions of secular individuals, 'married couples' and 'family groups' discussed in detail in Chapter Five. I will not repeat this discussion here; rather I will point out the aspects in which portrait-style depictions of saints differ using broadly the same subheadings. Three gold glasses in the British Museum depict individual saints. Seven pieces depict paired portraits, four of which exist only in fragmentary form. Two gold glasses illustrate groups of saints, and two saints occur upon single diminutive medallions, indicating that they were either part of a pair or, as is more likely, a group. One example in the British Museum may tentatively be identified as the portrait-style depiction of Saint Peter with a secular woman, perhaps representing a fourth-century member of his cult. As such, this piece is also discussed in this chapter. The general trends occurring in the various portrait-style depictions of saints in gold glass are summarized at the end of the chapter.

### Individual male saints (Appendix 1 nos. 27, 29 & 47)

Portrait-style depictions of individual saints are exemplified in the British Museum collection by numbers **27**, **29** and **47**. Number **47** is extremely badly damaged and the iconography is very difficult to see in photographs. Colour photographs of the piece are provided in Appendix 1; the illustration provided by Garrucci is presented in the text (Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 179.1). Upon close examination of number **47**, Garrucci's illustration is an extremely accurate reproduction of the iconography as it appears upon the glass. Like the portrait-style depictions of individual secular figures, all three saints are illustrated as quarter length busts and assume the centre of the field. No standardisation regarding the orientation of the head can be observed.



**Figure 44.** Gold glass number **22** in the British Museum collection depicting the portrait-style depiction of Christ (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Illustrated in Figure 44, number **22** in the British Museum collection is characterised by a square single line border. Beyond lower edge and two sides of this is a triangle with an outwards facing apex. A fourth triangle is likely to have been present above the upper edge; however, the glass in this area has since been lost. Within this border is a

further single line square, set diagonally to it. The field is thus divided into a central lozenge area, and four smaller triangular segments comprising the angles of the outer square.

Within the central field is the quarter-length bust of a clean-shaven youthful male figure, with hair short at the front and long at the back, falling in curls upon his shoulders. His head is turned slightly towards the left of the field and is flanked by two small dots. Above each shoulder appears one large dot. Serving as a space-filler, a further small dot appears above his head. Within each of the angles of the outer square are depicted identical single quarter-length busts of short haired and beardless men, flanked by two dots again acting as space-fillers. In each case the head is to the left. The central figure wears a tunic and pallium of what Morey (1959) describes as being of 'omophorion' type, fastened by a circular medallion, possibly indicating a brooch, upon his breast. The accompanying figures are apparently dressed in the same manner. The hands of each figure are not shown. The large central bust is very clearly labelled CRIS TVS, indicating that he represents Christ. The four smaller personages are unidentified by inscription and undistinguished in appearance. They are indeed markedly subservient to the prominent bust of Christ and as such I have treated this glass as the portrait of an individual saint.

Illustrated in Figure 45, this time set within a central circle, the portrait-style bust again labelled CRIS TVS, Christ, upon glass number **29** in the British Museum collection is depicted in all but identical fashion in costume and physical appearance to that on number **22**. The space radiating from the central circle, itself enclosed by a circular single band border, is divided into six trapezoidal panels by columns with base and fillet-capital, each appearing to bear a 'tabula ansata'. Within the panels stand six full-length figures, facing one another in pairs. The single complete surviving figure is short-haired and beardless. All clearly wear the plain tunic and pallium. The most complete figures hold their pallium with the left hand and, with the right, point in symmetrical pairs to the tabula ansata between them.

Torr made brief mention of both numbers **22** and **29** in his short monograph 'On portraits of Christ in the British Museum' (1898). With regard to **29**, he records traces

of the letters 'TEVS' on the remaining depicted fragment of tabula ansata, which he suggests as the ending of TIMO TEVS, Timothy (Torr 1898, p. 2). No such letters are now visible; furthermore, they are not visible on the photograph provided by Torr or the earlier line drawing provided by Garrucci (Torr 1898, fig. 1; Garrucci 1858, pl. XXIII.1) and as such should be discounted.



**Figure 45.** Gold glass number **29** in the British Museum collection depicting the portrait-style depiction of Christ (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The surrounding people represented additionally to the central bust portrait upon gold glass number **29** should be viewed not as part of the main depiction, but rather as an elaborate figural border of saints. An identical 'figural border' to that on gold glass number **29** occurs in numerous other instances of gold glass. The central circle in such cases sometimes contains the portrait bust of a saint, but upon other occasions secular subjects are represented. This is exemplified by the glass now in the Museo Nazionale in Florence (inv. no. 32; Morey 1959, pl. XXVI, no. 240), where the central circle contains a generic simultaneously crowned 'married couple'. Radiating borders of full-length saints surrounding a central circle occur in a number of varying forms upon the



gold glasses illustrated in Morey's extensive catalogue. The type exemplified upon number **29** in the British Museum collection is, however, the most common. Borders of this kind are perhaps reminiscent of the slightly later (c. AD 458) cupola of the Baptistery of the Orthodox in Ravenna in monumental art, but otherwise are not generally paralleled in contemporary art.

In the corpus of gold glass illustrated within Morey's catalogue, portrait-style depictions of Christ always depict him in an identical manner to the two British Museum pieces. Other gold glass portrait-style depictions of Christ not published by Morey include that in the Hermitage Museum (inv. no. 1224; Zaleskaya 2006, no. 603), labelled CR[istvs]. This piece retains part of a figural border which, when complete, would have been near identical to number **29** in the British Museum collection. Long hair and youthful looks were markers of divinity in both Greek and Roman art. With this in mind, Mathews favourably compares a long haired and youthful almost feminine Christ with both broadly contemporary images and texts relating to Apollo and Dionysus (Mathews 1995, pp. 126-7).

Writing in the fourth century, contemporary with the production of gold glass, Epiphanius of Salamis, however, narrates a far more down-to-earth explanation for Christ's long hair. In his 'Letter to the Emperor Theodosius' he laments that they, the artists and craftsmen '...lie by representing the appearance of saints in different forms according to their whim, sometimes delineating the same persons as old men, sometimes as youths, [and so] intruding into things which they have not seen. For they paint the Saviour with long hair, and this by conjecture because He is called a Nazarene, and Nazarenes wear long hair. They are in error...' (Epiphanius of Salamis *Letter to the Emperor Theodosius*, in ed. Ostrogorsky pp. 71-2, fr. 23-27, translation in Mango 1986, p. 42). Epiphanius suggests that Christ was depicted with long hair in contemporary art for the simple reason that stereotypical men from Nazareth also wore their hair long. In addition to this, however, Christ's long hair and to a lesser extent his youthful complexion in gold glass serves to distance him from and indeed to display an aura of sanctity over and above that of other male, often bearded and distinctly aged, saints portrayed in the same medium.

The tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type worn by Christ in the British Museum gold glass' is repeated identically upon each portrait-style depiction of a male saint shown as a bust, whether occurring individually, as a pair, or as a larger group. It is never once worn in gold glass by any secular person, or by any saint depicted in full length. Alongside a prominent role in scripture (Matthew 5:40), the tunic and pallium was long considered the quintessence of Greek dress. It is thus noticeably absent in favour of the toga, the epitome of Roman dress, in depictions of secular men specifically from the city of Rome, as is the case with those in gold glass, and other contemporary media described in the preceding chapter. The tunic and pallium, however, also functioned as the distinctive mark of the philosopher and intellectual (*pallium* in Cleland et al. 2007, p. 137) and was thus deemed by the early Church Fathers as being eminently suitable Christian attire (Tertullian, *De Pallio* 6.1.3, translation in Hunink 2005), accounting for its depiction in gold glass.

The omophorion was in later centuries the long white scarf worn by bishops. Although illustrated in a highly generic fashion, this is certainly not what is depicted as worn by Christ in the British Museum gold glass. Morey's (1959) description 'omophorion type' suggests that in his opinion, the garment shown represented an early form of the omophorion. The term has not been accepted by some subsequent scholars, however. The catalogue entry for 'Glass of the Caesars', for example describes the garment worn by Christ on the British Museum piece number **22** as having 'a large medallion suspended by a strap on the chest' (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, no. 158). 'Picturing the Bible', describes Christ upon the same glass as wearing 'a tunic and cloak fastened at his chest' (*Picturing the Bible* 2007, no. 45).

Buonarruoti (Buonarruoti 1716, pp. 75-85), followed by Dalton (Dalton 1901b), proposed that the type of mantle worn was 'not the ordinary 'lacerna' (cloak) but a particular kind of medium-sized garment, like the Hebrew ephod, which Early Christians, both men and woman, at least in cities, wore over their shoulders for prayer' (translation in Osborne & Claridge 1998, p. 202). This garment was later abandoned by the laity but was retained by the clergy as a mark of ecclesiastical rank (Dalton 1901a, p. 245). Like the omophorion of later years, this garment was by the fourth century considered as a clergy specific, as is also the garment exclusively worn

by male saints appearing as busts in gold glass. As Buonarruoti lamented, however, the iconography of gold glass portrait-style depictions of saints is so generic that a secure identification of the actual garment worn is not possible.

In some instances of gold glass portrait-style depictions of saints, such as that in the British Museum collection number **2**, and, albeit less visibly, number **13** discussed in the following sections, the 'omophorion' is given further prominence by being over-painted in red enamel. In gold glass secular portrait-style depictions discussed above, enamelled aspects of the iconography are reserved only for conveying greater visual prominence upon status-imbued items. This thus suggests that, regardless of what it actually represents, the 'omophorion' type addition was indeed of special significance in this context. As the term 'omophorion type' has been adopted in Morey's catalogue, the largest published corpus of gold glass available, I will continue to use the term for ease of reference.

In other contemporary media, portrait-style depictions of Christ in the form of a bust are comparatively rare. Where they do exist, however, Christ is sometimes depicted as youthful, clean-shaven and long-haired, closely akin to his appearance in gold glass. A classic example is the central roundel upon the Brescia casket (Tkacz 2001, p. 234), where Christ is further shown wearing the tunic and pallium of omophorion type. Christ also appears as clean-shaven with long-hair when shown full-length seated or standing upon a number of contemporary sarcophagi, and the mosaic with the 'traditio legis' from the apse of Santa Costanza, also in Rome. Nevertheless, other pieces such as the contemporary portrait bust painting of Christ upon the ceiling of the Catacomb of Commodilla, in the Cubiculum Leonis (Nicolai 2002, pl. 1), depict him as an older man with a beard, more akin to the Greek ideal of the philosopher and intellectual.

Clearly, by the latter part of the fourth century, no standard iconography for the physical appearance of Christ had yet been developed. Christ's youthful long-haired appearance and the tunic and pallium of omophorion type, paralleled closely in other contemporary media and noted specifically by Epiphanius, demonstrates that gold glass does conform to the prevailing pictorial language of fourth-century Rome. However, that only one specific type of Christ is present in the extensive published

corpus of gold glass suggests that the pictorial range featured in the medium is, like the secular portrait-style depictions discussed in Chapter Five, somewhat narrow in comparison with other contemporary media.



**Figure 46.** Garrucci's illustration of gold glass number **47** in the British Museum collection, depicting the portrait-style depiction of Saint Peter (after Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 179.1).

The final portrait-style depiction of an individual saint in the British Museum collection, number **47**, depicts Saint Peter. It is in fragmentary condition and is most clearly viewed as a line drawing, presented in Figure 46. A photograph of the glass as it currently appears is provided in Appendix 1. The remaining fragment clearly depicts the bust of a single man, identified as Saint Peter in the accompanying inscription. Peter is depicted frontally, and in this instance is portrayed as having short curly hair and a cropped beard. He is dressed in tunic and pallium, apparently of 'omophorion' type. The inscription, occurring to the left of the field, reads: PE TRV SPRO TEG A, translated as 'Peter protect [me?]'. The last letter 'A' of the inscription is badly discoloured, and has also been read as 'E' (Morey 1959, p. 52, no. 297). It is not present in Garrucci's illustration.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the piece, it is impossible to speculate what, if anything, was inscribed or depicted above the left shoulder of St Peter. Traces of gold

leaf to the left of the inscription may represent a decorative pattern or, as Garrucci depicts it, the remnants of a reciprocal border. If latter is correct, then this reciprocal border is made up of considerably thinner discs than upon other gold glasses.

In the extensive catalogue of gold glass published by Morey, all portrait-style busts of individual male saints are depicted with beards. The length of the beard and the extent of the hair on the subject's head do, however, appear often to have been applied in a rather arbitrary fashion. Epiphanius of Salamis, however, has already been noted as lamenting the depiction of the same saint as either a youth or an aged man according to the whim of the artist or craftsman during the fourth century. Age, signified by a longer beard and a balding head, illustrates well the idea of a highly-regarded intellectual figure in Late Antiquity, where wisdom is perceived as having been acquired with age and experience (Zanker 1996, pp. 299-300). Male saints depicted on gold glass displaying the characteristics of old age, such as the British Museum gold glass number **47**, are perhaps then intended to evoke in the viewer the archetypal idea of wisdom, in contrast to the youthful and therefore perhaps divine appearance of Christ.

Portrait-style depictions of individual saints in gold glass in all other instances in Morey's catalogue include simple inscriptions, usually taking the form of an identifying name label. To my knowledge, gold glass number **47** in the British Museum collection is the only example on any object from this period which actually invokes the protection of a saint. A single gold glass from the Vatican collection, inscribed with [vi]CTO[r viv]AS INNOMINE LAVRETI, 'Victor live in the name of [St] Laurence' may, perhaps, be another not so explicit example (Morey 1959, pl. VI, no. 40), as may another piece, also related to Laurence, bearing an inscription translated by Garrucci as '[...]anus, live in Christ and in Laurence' (Garrucci 1959, pp. 44-5; Morey 1959, p. 75, pl. XXXIV, no. 460; Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 18.145.3). Portrait-style depiction busts of individual male saints rarely occur in other contemporary media, and no examples of Saint Peter are known to me. Instead, like in gold glass, paired or grouped saints are represented far more frequently. The physical appearance of Saint Peter depicted as part of a pair or group other media is closely akin to his appearance

on gold glass **47**. It is discussed in detail with regard to the paired portrait-style depictions of Saints Peter and Paul under the following subheading.

**Paired male saints (Appendix 1 nos. 2, 20, 24, 28, 38, 40 & 43)**

The British Museum collection includes seven gold glass portrait-style depictions of paired saints. These are numbered **2, 20, 24, 28, 38, 40** and **43**. More than half, numbers **2, 38, 40** and **43**, exist only as small fragments. Nevertheless, comparison of the surviving iconography with more complete glasses from other collections published in Morey's catalogue reveals that paired portrait-style depictions of saints, like secular 'married couples', conform to a highly standardised layout. Even very fragmentary glasses can therefore be assigned to the correct category. Gold glass portrait-style depictions of paired saints in the British Museum collection can be divided quite distinctly between those illustrating saints as busts and those depicting saints as seated full-length figures. They are discussed below in that order.

Illustrated in Figure 47, number **20** in the British Museum collection depicts two half length frontal busts facing one another with their heads depicted in profile. The figure to the right of the field overlaps that on the left. Both are male, with half-bald heads and curving pointed-beards. Both wear tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type fastened by a circular brooch on the breast. At shoulder height between the heads of the two busts is a diminutive full-length frontal depiction of a youthful male figure, probably representing Christ, his head facing forward. He is beardless with long hair falling onto his shoulders. He wears a wide-sleeved tunic and pallium and holds a crown above the heads of the two male busts. His head is flanked by two dots. Beside each bust, horizontally between the back of the head and the inside of the border, the figures are labelled P ET RV S and P A VLV S to the left and right respectively, identifying them as St Peter and St Paul. The field is enclosed with a standard double band inscription-enclosed border, reading 'BICVLIVS.DIGN[itās] [a]MICORVM VIV ASPIEZESES (dot)'. It is translated as 'Biculus, the pride of your friends, may you live as you should, drink that you may live'. Dalton notes that Biculus is an unusual name,

and tentatively suggests that it is an abbreviation for 'Buculeus' or 'Bucolus'. Vopel suggests 'Vigilius'.



**Figure 47.** Gold glass number **20** in the British Museum collection, depicting the identical paired busts of Saints Peter and Paul (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The depiction of the heads of saints in profile occurs on numerous instances of gold glass published in Morey's 1959 catalogue, most frequently depicting paired busts labelled as Saints Peter and Paul. In each instance, however, the bodies of the saints are depicted not in profile, but quarter-turned. The depiction of the heads in profile constitutes a striking departure from the quarter-turned manner in which the heads of secular 'married couples' are exclusively depicted in gold glass. Akin to the portrait-style depiction of secular married couples, the quarter-turned heads and bodies of saints depicted as busts also occur in the corpus of gold glass published by Morey, and are exemplified by number **2** in the British Museum collection. Labelled as Peter and

Paul, the busts of the two saints upon number **2** are also identical in physical appearance.

In contrast to number **20**, however, both men on gold glass number **2** have full heads of hair and shorter beards. The fragmentary piece number **43** in the British Museum collection retains the upper portion of the bust portrait style depiction labelled as Saint Paul. Paul's head is depicted in profile, turned towards the centre of the field, and as such was probably paired with an identical bust of Saint Peter. In contrast to Paul's appearance on both numbers **2** and **20**, number **43** depicts him as clean-shaven and with a full head of closely cropped hair. Epiphanius of Salamis' lament that the depiction of the same saint as either a youth or an aged man relates directly to the whim of the artist (Epiphanius of Salamis *Letter to the Emperor Theodosius*, in ed. Ostrogorsky pp. 71-2, fr. 23-27, translation in Mango 1986, p. 42), seems to be in evidence here once more.

Although not present in the British Museum collection, gold glass paired portrait-style depictions of Peter and Paul included in Morey's extensive catalogue frequently illustrate Paul as an old man, balding and with a long beard, but Peter as somewhat younger, with a full head of hair and closely cropped beard. The generic but nonetheless differentiated appearances of Peter and Paul in this manner are also noted specifically by Epiphanius of Salamis: '... these imposters represent the holy apostle Peter as an old man with hair and beard cut short; some represent St. Paul as a man with receding hair, others as being bald and bearded...' (Epiphanius of Salamis, *Letter to the Emperor Theodosius*, in ed. Ostrogorsky pp. 71-2, fr. 23-27, translation in Mango 1986, p. 42). The more aged appearance of Paul relates closely to the description given in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul* which describes him as 'a man small of stature, with a bald head and crooked legs, in a good state of body, with eyebrows meeting and nose somewhat hooked...' (*Acts of Paul and Thecla* 3.3, translation in Hennecke & Schneemelcher 1992, vol. 2, p. 239). No such description of Peter's physical appearance exists.

Along with the tunic and pallium, the beard in Late Antiquity constituted the distinctive attribute of the philosopher and intellectual. Old age, signified by a longer beard and a



balding head, illustrates well the idea of a highly-regarded intellectual figure in Late Antiquity, where wisdom was perceived as having been acquired with age and experience (Zanker 1996, pp. 299-300). Both Peter and Paul in the British Museum gold glass number **20**, therefore, are generically portrayed in the archetypal image of the Late Antique philosopher. In a society in which wisdom was acquired with age, Paul's bald head and longer beard apparently grant him a degree of superiority over Peter in many examples of gold glass. The perceived higher status of Paul over Peter as indicated by the attributes of old age is further enhanced through Paul's near exclusive appearance in gold glass upon the right of the field when the object is viewed from above. This apparent superiority may stem from Paul's perceived role as the representative leader of the church of the Gentiles, to which the majority of people in fourth-century Rome belonged, as oppose to Peter as the leader of the Church of the Jews, and is found in other contemporary media from Rome, such as mosaic.



**Figure 48.** Gold glass number **28** in the British Museum collection, depicting the identical paired busts of Saints Sixtus and Timothy (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Although no other pairing is quite so prolific, paired portrait-style depictions of male saints other than Peter and Paul also occur as busts in gold glass. In the British

Museum collection this is exemplified by a single example, number **28**, illustrated in Figure 48. Within a thick single band circular border, number **28** depicts two clean shaven quarter-turned busts labelled as SVST VSTIMO TEVS, Sixtus and Timothy. They represent Pope Saint Sixtus II (bishop of Rome between from 257 and martyred during the persecution of Valerian in 258 AD) and Saint Timothy (martyred at Rome during the persecution of Diocletian in the early fourth century; 22<sup>nd</sup> May in the *Roman Martyrology*) respectively. Both saints wear the tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type and have full heads of closely cropped hair. Between their heads is depicted a small leaf-spray space-filler. The paired portrait-style busts of saints other than Peter and Paul in gold glass all follow the generic clean-shaven and short-haired model occurring here. Indeed, Epiphanius of Salamis specifically noted in the passage continued from above, that saints other than Peter and Paul are all depicted as being 'closely cropped' (Epiphanius of Salamis, *Letter to the Emperor Theodosius*, in ed. Ostrogorsky pp. 71-2, fr. 23-27, translation in Mango 1986, p. 42).

As discussed in Chapter Five, paired male busts have a long pedigree in the imperial sphere, in each instance depicting the heads of the figures in profile. As with portrait-style depictions of secular 'married couples', the paired busts of saints convey an image of concordia. So often being distinguished by the differing treatment of hair and beard, the identical features of Saints Peter and Paul upon the gold glasses numbers **2** and **20** in the British Museum collection may well have been intended to further enhance this notion of unity, and thus the unity of the two "branches" of the church represented by Peter and Paul. As on the majority of gold glass secular 'married couple' portrait-style depictions, the central diminutive figure simultaneously crowning both Peter and Paul in gold glass number **20** represents Christ. In this instance, Christ is depicted with long hair, akin to his appearance in gold glass as a portrait bust. Christ further emphasises concordia, although as coronation is a theme rich in iconographical overtones, Walter sees no reason not to view the crown in the context of saints as representing the crown of martyrdom and a mark of immortality (Walter 1979, p. 83). In contrast to secular 'married couples', other symbols such as leaf-sprays occur far more frequently between the heads of the figures upon gold glasses depicting paired saints.

The paired bust portrait-style depictions of saints are not unique to gold glass. A huge number of parallels from across the entire range of contemporary media from the city of Rome have been published. Like gold glass, the majority depict the paired busts of saints Peter and Paul. Again akin to gold glass, in almost every case Paul appears the more aged figure and in each instance is depicted on the right of the field when the object is viewed from above. Principal amongst these comparative objects are the series of bronze medallions recovered, like gold glass, from the plaster of the Roman catacombs (e.g. Vatican Museum inv. no. 60959; *Pietro e Paolo* 2001, pp. 214 & 140, nos. 61-2), and a repeating pattern of roundels upon an embossed bronze sheet casket dating to the later part of the fourth century from Hungary (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum inv. no. 0.4651; *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 387). Like number **20** in the British Museum collection, both of these objects show the face of the two figures in profile, and in the case of the latter, Peter and Paul are both accompanied by identifying name labels. Like in gold glass, both the series of bronze medallions and the embossed bronze sheet casket include a central symbol, this time taking the form of a chi-rho, between the heads of the two saints.

The portrait-style depictions of Peter and Paul with their heads as well as their bodies shown quarter-turned are also paralleled in other contemporary media, notably upon the Brescia casket (Tkacz 2001, p. 234) and the Epitaph of Asellus (Vatican Museum inv. no. 28596; *Picturing the Bible* 2007, no. 68). The portrait-style depictions of other paired saints in other media are less common. Nevertheless, where they do occur, as upon the Brescia casket, in the majority of cases they are depicted identically to their appearance in gold glass: clean-shaven with closely cropped hair (Tkacz 2001, pp. 233-236). Once again, the paired busts of male saints in gold glass are seen to conform closely to the prevailing pictorial language of fourth-century Rome. The simultaneous coronation of Peter and Paul by a central diminutive Christ does not occur in any contemporary depiction of paired saints known to me. As the apparently less superior Peter, appearing to the left of the field, is inadvertently crowned by the right hand of Christ it is again possible that gold glass portrait-style depictions of paired saints incorporating a central diminutive Christ presents a conflation of different elements existing within the pictorial language of fourth-century Rome.

In gold glass, paired portrait-style depictions of male saints also frequently occur not as busts but as full-length figures. In the gold glass catalogue published by Morey (1959), these sometimes take the form of full-length standing figures. More commonly, however, and as illustrated by examples in the British Museum collection, full-length figures are presented as seated, facing one another, and apparently in the process of conversation.



**Figure 49.** Gold glass number **24** in the British Museum collection, depicting the full-length seated figures of Saints Peter and Paul (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Illustrated in Figure 49, number **24** constitutes the only complete example of full-length paired seated saints in the British Museum collection. The iconography is partially obscured by a pink film, but is nevertheless still visible in the colour photograph. Within the circular reciprocal border of half circles are portrayed the full-length depictions of two adult male figures, short haired and beardless, seated on folding stools with wide tapering legs. In the field behind the head and shoulder of

each figure, curved in accordance with the circular border, the figure to the left is labelled PETRVS, Peter, and the figure to the right PAVLVS, Paul. Both figures are depicted three-quarter turned toward one another. They both have crossed legs and wear a plain tunic and pallium. Peter rests his left hand on his lap whilst his right hand is extended towards Paul, as if in speaking. Paul holds a scroll with both hands over his breast. In the field between their heads is a wreath of oak leaves with attached ribbons enclosing a leaf-spray.

Gold glasses numbers **38** and **40** in the British Museum collection both exist only as small fragments. Nevertheless, it is evident that both have been correctly interpreted as examples of portrait-style depictions of paired full-length seated saints. Number **38** retains only a small fragment of the left hand side of the field. Even so, within the circular reciprocal border of half circles is visible the body and upper legs of a seated male figure labelled PETR[e]S, Peter. He wears a plain tunic and pallium, and faces towards the centre of the field, his arm outstretched, probably in the act of speaking as upon number **24** described above. Comparison with number **24** in the British Museum collection and other pieces illustrated within Morey's catalogue makes it most probable that a similar figure labelled Paul appeared to the right of the field. Number **40** in the British Museum collection, again a small fragment, illustrates a male figure seated upon a folding stool like that in number **24**, appearing upon the right of the field; he is turned towards the centre. The fragment does not preserve the area usually carrying inscriptions on pieces with similar compositions, and thus the figure is unidentifiable.

The physical appearance of both Peter and Paul on number **24** is of the generic clean-shaven type noted above as also occurring on gold glasses depicting the paired busts of the two saints. The range of facial appearances for both Peter and Paul, as well as for other male saints, illustrated by the gold glasses in Morey's catalogue appears to be identical to those discussed above. Again, like the formula adopted in portrait busts, in both numbers **24** and **38**, it is Saint Peter who is depicted on the viewer's left. Saint Paul, often depicted as an older man than Peter, is invariably depicted to the right of the field as the object is viewed from above. This is also the case upon other full-length seated portrait-style depictions of Peter and Paul in Morey's catalogue. The range of

attributes and other symbols appearing between the heads of the paired saints upon full-length seated portrait-style depictions is also identical to those present upon the paired busts of saints in gold glass. The single key difference between the two types of saintly portrait-style depictions is the costume. In contrast to saints depicted as busts, no saint depicted in full-length either as a portrait-style depiction, or as part of scenic representation discussed in Chapter Seven, wears the omophorion. Instead, the plain tunic and pallium is exclusively worn.

The compositional formula of paired individuals occurring on gold glass as full-length seated figures is largely unparalleled in other contemporary media known to me. One rare example may perhaps be the image occurring, as with gold glass, upon the base of a terracotta bowl, allegedly found in Rome in the early twentieth century, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. Fletcher Fund 1952.25.1; *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 506). The image on the base of the terracotta bowl is near-identical in format to gold glass number **24**. It depicts the full-length portrait-style depictions clearly labelled as Peter and Paul seated upon folding stools, the chi-rho monogram between their heads, in the process of conversation. The image, however, is an exact parallel of a gold glass illustrated by Garrucci (Garrucci 1858, pl. XIV.8). Furthermore, the crenulated border surrounding the central image on the terracotta bowl is unparalleled in any contemporary media known to me, and is in fact more closely akin to that found on ceramics produced for the Grand Tour. Additionally, the object is covered with a green glaze. This is certainly not a feature of contemporary ceramics and is explained away in *Age of Spirituality* as a latter addition (*Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 506). However, all of this implies that it is plausible that this object is a forgery produced in the late nineteenth century, based on Garrucci.

Despite no direct compositional parallels being present in other contemporary media known to me, the individual elements of gold glass full-length seated portrait-style depictions of saints occur commonly throughout fourth-century art from Rome. The single, rather than paired, male figure dressed in a plain tunic and pallium and seated upon a folding stool with wide tapering legs is used throughout contemporary media, most notably upon sarcophagi, to convey the notion of intellect. These figures have been described variously by scholars as philosophers (Deckers 2007, p. 102), teachers

(Erich Dinkler, in *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 370), men of letters (Malcolm Bell, in *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 238) and other intellectual figures (Josepha Weitzmann-Fielder, in *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 256). Just like in gold glass, they occur both as bearded and balding, indicative of old age, and, like number **24** in the British Museum collection, as younger clean-shaven men with full heads of closely cropped hair.

### **Multiple male saints (Appendix 1 nos. 11, 13, 25 & 49)**

In Morey's catalogue of gold glass, the portrait-style depictions of multiple male saints take a range of forms including quarter-turned busts, full-length standing figures, or a combination of the two. Two gold glass vessel bases are held in the British Museum collection, numbers **13** and **25**, which depict multiple male saints. Number **13** is badly fragmented. The iconography is not clearly visible when viewed as a photograph (Appendix 1), nevertheless, upon close examination of the piece, Garrucci's illustration again proves to be extremely accurate (Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 194.8), and thus is what is presented in the text. Two individual diminutive medallions depicting saints are also present in the British Museum collection, numbered **11** and **49**. Because individual diminutive medallions once formed sequences upon the walls of larger vessels, they are discussed under this subheading as individual fragmentary elements of portrait-style depictions of multiple male saints.

Illustrated in Figure 50, Garrucci's illustration of number **13** in the British Museum collection depicts what remains of the iconography visible on the remaining fragment. The area within the single circular border is divided into trapezoidal panels, three of which partially survive. Dalton and Morey both identify a central circle (Dalton 1901b, p. 130, no. 642; Morey 1959, p. 56, no. 340), Morey describing it as enclosing a bust wearing a tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type. No trace of this now remains, nor is it illustrated by Garrucci. Both Dalton and Morey postulate six trapezoidal panels. Of the existing three, two panels depict beardless busts half-turned towards each other, each wearing a tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type, the 'omophorion' in each instance is given further prominence highlighted in over-painted red enamel. The third

panel is too badly damaged to be clearly visible; however, it is likely to have taken the same form.



**Figure 50.** Garrucci's illustration of gold glass number **13** in the British Museum collection, retaining the portrait-style depictions of Saints Simon, Damasus and Sixtus (after Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 194.8).

The inscription label [sim]ON occurs in association with the first bust, the second is labelled DAMAS. Vopel (1899, p. 111, no. 426) reads SVS beside the third bust and these letters are clearly visible in the illustration provided by Garrucci suggesting that this bust represented Sixtus. Dalton reads only 'S' (Dalton 1901b, no. 642). Nothing is now visible. DAMAS has long been identified with Pope Damasus I (bishop of Rome between 366 and 384 AD). As each figure is depicted wearing clergy-specific costume, Simon might reasonably be identified with the early fourth-century saint of that name (his feast day is recorded on the 27<sup>th</sup> October in the *Roman Martyrology*) as having been martyred during the persecutions of Diocletian. The figure SVSTVS probably represents the martyred Pope Sixtus II (noted above). The group do not represent Pope Damasus with a group of secular friends as has been suggested by Grig (2004, p. 209-12), discussed in detail in Chapter Nine.

The busts within the trapezoidal panels on **13** conform in every way to the portrait-style depictions of individual and paired saints, other than Peter and Paul, in other gold



glasses described above. They would have surrounded a central circle, most probably containing the bust of either Christ or a further saint, perhaps the apparently more superior bearded Peter or Paul. This formula can be readily paralleled in a number of gold glasses from Morey's catalogue, specifically in the Vatican Museum collection (inv. no. 457; Morey 1959, pl. VI, no. 38). Number **13** in the British Museum collection is not here considered to be a single portrait-style depiction of a saint surrounded by an elaborate figural border akin to the British Museum piece number **22** discussed above. Not only do the saints surrounding the central roundel on number **13** all wear the tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type, synonymous it seems with the portrait bust, but in this instance each bust is of a significant size and is clearly labelled. The composition of a central circle surrounded by trapezoidal panels themselves within a circular frame is a specific feature of contemporary art. In Rome itself, other examples occur specifically within catacomb paintings, such as that in vault of Hall I in the Via Latina catacomb also depicting multiple portrait-style images (Ferrua 1991, p. 114-5, figs. 96-9). Portrait-style depictions of multiple saints presented in this composition in gold glass conform closely to the prevailing pictorial language of fourth-century Rome.

Portrait-style depictions of multiple saints appear in quite a different manner on gold glass number **25** in the British Museum collection. Shown in Figure 51, the field within the circular, single line border is divided into two parts by a horizontal line slightly thinner than that of the border. The upper portion is divided into four broadly equal panels by three spirally fluted columns with foliated capitals, perhaps in attempt to represent Solomonic columns with Corinthian capitals. These are joined at the tops by a festoon-like curtain, which is further depicted as hanging from the outside edges of the first and third columns. A full-length frontal depiction of a single beardless male figure is portrayed within each of the panels. The first wears a tunic and pallium, draped over his left lower arm, his head half-turned slightly downwards to his left. With his left (bottom) and right hands, the first two fingers of which are elongated (top), he holds a scroll. The remaining three figures are all depicted identically, with the exception that their heads are all half-turned slightly downwards to their right. Leaf-spray space-fillers are present between the legs and underneath the right arm of

each figure. The first and fourth figures are slightly cramped, the size of the panels here being inhibited by the circular border.

The second third and fourth figures are labelled PAVLVS (Saint Paul the apostle), SVSTVS (Saint Sixtus, the martyred Pope Sixtus II as noted above) and LAVRENTIVS (Saint Laurence, who was martyred in Rome along with Sixtus in 258) respectively. The glass in the area of the first panel is damaged, rendering any name label now illegible. Considering that the second figure, directly facing the first represents Paul, it is highly likely that the first figure is intended to represent Peter, completing the most commonly depicted pairing in gold glass. In the field above the column tops is the generic Latinized Greek inscription PIE ZESES, 'drink that you may live'.



**Figure 51.** Gold glass number 25 in the British Museum collection, depicting Saints Peter (?), Paul, Sixtus, Lawrence, Hippolytus, Christ and Timothy (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Within the lower portion of the field are depicted three frontal half-length male busts. All are bearded and with half-bald heads. The first and third figures are depicted

wearing tunic and pallium, apparently of 'omophorion' type from which their fingers protrude. Their heads, the first more rounded and with a shorter beard than that of his counterpart, are depicted in profile, facing inwards towards the central figure. The central figure is also shown dressed in tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type draped over his left lower arm, and holding a scroll in the same manner as the upper four figures. He is also bearded and balding. Unlike those flanking him, whose heads are depicted in profile, the central figure is depicted fully frontal, unusual in portrait-style depictions on gold glass. Each figure is labelled to the left of their heads: IPPOLITVS (Saint Hippolytus, who died and was buried in Rome in 236 AD, and by the fourth century was venerated as a martyr); CRISTVS (Christ); and TIMOTEVS (Saint Timothy, martyred in Rome during the persecution of Diocletian as noted above) respectively. To the left, behind the head of Timothy is depicted a scroll. Together with his longer beard and appearance to the left of the field, the side with higher connotations of status, this may be intended as a further marker of superiority over Hippolytus.

On number **25**, the bald bearded portrait-style depictions of Timothy and, with a slightly longer beard, Hippolytus, closely resemble depictions of Peter and Paul (see especially Garrucci 1858, pl. XII, fig. 7) rather than other clean-shaven and more youthful representations of Timothy (e.g. British Museum piece number **28**; Vatican Museum inv. no. 772 (ex-447); Morey 1959, pl. XII, no. 74) and Hippolytus (e.g. Verona, Museo di Castelvechio inv. no. 4567; Morey 1959, pl. XXVIII, no. 278) on other every other example of gold glass known to me. The bearded and bald depiction of Christ as an old man is also unusual, this being the only instance occurring in both gold glass and all other contemporary media known to me. Franks suggested that these three figures, Christ in particular, had been mislabelled (Franks 1864, p. 383). Because the labels appear so clearly relating to each figure, and are in no instances misspelled, a mistake seems highly unlikely.

Although no direct parallels to this gold glass as a whole exist, the colonnaded upper register containing identical figures appears upon a number of other gold glasses, notably in the Museo Nazionale in Florence (inv. no. 32; Morey 1959, pl. XXVI, no. 254), in the Museo d'arte in Pesaro (Morey 1959, pl. XXVIII, no. 287), and in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. C13A-1946; Morey 1959, pl. XXXI, no.

357). These gold glasses also include the bust portraits of other saints in the lower register. The paired busts in Morey (1959) number 254 are clearly labelled as Peter and Paul, shown clean shaven and with short full hair. Those in Morey (1959) number 287 are unlabelled but clearly represent saints on account of their costume, the tunic and pallium of omophorion type.

The standing saints holding scrolls depicted within the colonnade on gold glass number **25** conform to a standard formula for presenting standing male saints, not only in gold glass, where they occur in individual (e.g. Vatican Museum inv. no. 728 (ex-462); Morey 1959, pl. VI, no. 40) as well as paired (e.g. Vatican Museum inv. no. 766 (ex-433); Morey 1959, pl. VI, no. 36) portrait-style depictions, but also in other contemporary media. These include catacomb paintings, such as that in the Via Latina Catacomb in Rome (Ferrua 1991, fig. 102). They also they occur frequently upon contemporary sarcophagi (Dresken-Weiland 1998, pl. 41, no. 111), also from Rome. The presence of a colonnade dividing space into separate panels is also a feature of contemporary imagery. A similar colonnade occurs in a contemporary silver 'missorium' celebrating the 'decennalia' of the emperor Theodosius in 388, found in southern Spain but probably made in either Rome or Constantinople (Elsner 1998, p. 85; *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 64). The formula also occurs on contemporary sarcophagi (*Picturing the Bible* 2007, nos. 47 & 64). All of the composite individual elements upon gold glass number **25** in the British Museum collection thus again relate directly to the iconographic conventions popular in the language of fourth-century art from Rome.

Diminutive medallions depicting individual saints are represented in the British Museum collection by numbers **11** and **49**. Illustrated in Figure 52, within a single line circular border, number **11** depicts a clean-shaven and short-haired portrait-style depiction of Saint Paul, quarter-turned to the left of the field, and clearly labelled PAV LUS. He wears a tunic and pallium of omophorion type, his left hand protruding from the top in the gesture of speech and address. Illustrated in Figure 53, number **49** in the collection is unlabelled, but depicts a similar clean-shaven short-haired male figure quarter turned to the right of the field, within a single line octagonal border. Flanking his head is a dot and a leaf-spray. He wears what could perhaps also be described as a

tunic and pallium of omophorion type, although it takes a slightly different form to that in number **11**. He certainly does not wear the toga contabulata worn by secular male figures in gold glass and as such he should be identified as a saint.



**Figure 52.** Gold glass diminutive medallion number **11** in the British Museum collection depicting the portrait-style depiction bust of Saint Paul (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).



**Figure 53.** Gold glass diminutive medallion number **49** in the British Museum collection depicting the portrait-style depiction bust of an unidentified saint (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Appearing as busts, both saints depicted on the British Museum diminutive medallions numbers **11** and **49** adhere to the same standardized formula of appearance discussed above for the bust type portrait-style depictions of saints, and relate closely to the depiction of male saints in the artistic language of fourth-century Rome. These diminutive medallions once formed part of a sequence on the wall of a single vessel,

much like the St Severin bowl (39). It is probable that they formed a sequence of multiple bust-type portrait-style depictions of saints arranged, possibly in pairs, around the wall of the vessel similar to those occurring around the top of the contemporary Brescia casket (Tkacz 2001, pp. 233-236). Because the British Museum diminutive medallion depicting Saint Paul is quarter-turned to the left, it is plausible that, adhering to the same formula apparent in gold glass as well as other media, he was paired with a right-facing bust of Saint Peter upon a second diminutive medallion. Gold glass diminutive medallions also depict saints as full-length seated figures (e.g. Museo Nazionale in Florence inv. no. 40; Morey 1959, pl. XXVI, no. 252). These closely resemble elements of the paired portrait-style depictions of seated saints occurring on vessel bases such as number 24 in the British Museum collection discussed above. No examples are present in the British Museum collection, however.

### **Saints and secular people (Appendix 1 no. 1)**

Gold glass number 1 in the British Museum collection takes the form of a vessel base. Half of the piece has been broken away, however, and thus the whole of the complete scene has not been retained. The original glass is masked by a film of iridescence. The image is best discussed here in relation to the highly accurate illustration provided by Garrucci, illustrated in Figure 54 (Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pl. 185.2). Photographs of the glass as it appears today are presented in Appendix 1.

Within the circular single band border on the left of the field is depicted the full length portrait-style depiction of an adult male figure, bearded and with short hair. The figure is bare foot and wears tunic and pallium with an over-painted red enamel stripe at the bottom. He holds a scroll with both hands, the first two fingers of his right hand extended. He is depicted seated on a folding stool with thin, curved legs tapered at the bottom, his head and legs in profile facing inwards and to the right of the field whilst his upper body is portrayed frontally. To the right of him stands a female figure, dressed in tunic and palla above which the border of a veil is just visible, of which only the lower portion survives. As her hands are not visible at her sides it is likely that she

is standing orant. In the surviving space between the two figures is a single dot. The floor surface is scored to give the impression of boards.



**Figure 54.** Garrucci's illustration of gold glass vessel base number 1 in the British Museum collection possibly depicting Peter accompanied by a secular female devotee (after Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pl. 185.2).

In the field, curved in accordance with the inside of the circular border, the remaining inscription reads PET[rus]. A leaf-spray is depicted at the beginning of the inscription, on the opposite side, presumably at the end of the (now lost) latter part of the inscription is depicted three heart-shaped leaves. The remaining inscription, physical appearance and costume of the seated male figure imply that it is Saint Peter who is represented. Following Garrucci, Dalton suggested that the depiction represents an apocryphal act of St Peter, and that the second figure represents one of his female students, specifically St Petronilla, St Pudentiana or St Praxed (Garrucci 1864, p. 102; Dalton 1901b, p. 128). It is unfortunate that the majority of the inscription, which probably continued to give the name of the female figure and thus identify the scene, has been lost.

Contrary to Dalton's hypothesis, the scene may in fact be a devotional image. The female depicted might plausibly be intended to represent the secular woman who commissioned the glass, commending her soul to St Peter, whose cult she might have been a member of. The now lost portion of inscription might have given her name, but may also have constituted a dedicatory inscription like that on gold glass number **47** in this catalogue, also depicting St Peter. This scenario has been put forward by Grig with regard to a single vessel base now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Rogers Fund inv. no. 1918.145.2; Morey 1959, p. 73, pl. XXXVI, no. 449). The Metropolitan piece depicts a full-length orant female figure labelled PEREGRINA, standing between Saints Peter and Paul. Peregrina is certainly not known from any hagiographical sources and according to Grig, seems most likely to represent a devotee, commending her soul to the care of the two apostles (Grig 2004, pp. 224-6).

In other contemporary media, most notably in catacomb paintings, saints and their devotees are depicted together. In the catacomb of Domitilla, for example, the image of Saint Petronilla is depicted escorting the deceased woman Veneranda to heaven (Grig 2004, p. 225-6; Giuliani 1994, pp. 61-87). Although dating to the fifth and early sixth centuries, slightly later than the period of gold glass production, Saint Januarius is depicted together with recently deceased devotees in the catacomb of San Gennaro in Naples (Grig 2004, p. 226; Achelis 1936, pl. 33-4). Identical depictions to that on gold glass number **1** in the British Museum collection do occur on a number of chronologically comparable sarcophagi from Rome (e.g. Bovini & Brandenburg 1967, pp. 306-7, no. 747). Unaccompanied by identifying inscription, Deckers has interpreted this depiction on sarcophagi as the deceased portrayed as a philosopher with his wife depicted as the personification of piety (Deckers 2007, p. 102). In the light of the British Museum gold glass, however, this image may instead represent the deceased woman commending her soul to the teachings of the apostle Peter.

### **General trends observable on gold glass portrait-style depictions of male saints**

The portrayal of male saints upon gold glass in the British Museum collection conform very closely to the standardized formula for depicting male saints in other media and,



as I have argued, conform closely to the iconographic conventions popular in the language of fourth-century art from Rome. Both in the British Museum collection and in the corpus of gold glass published by Morey, portrait-style depictions of male saints in gold glass exclusively wear the tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type. As a result, it is thus possible to easily identify male busts as saints rather than secular figures even in the absence of any accompanying inscription. In contrast to busts, however, the portrait-style depictions of saints as full-length figures exclusively wear the plain tunic and pallium. They are, however, again distinguishable from secular males on the basis of costume, who in contrast exclusively wear either the toga contabulata, or, far less often, the dalmaticus.

Akin to gold glasses with portrait-style depictions of secular people, inscriptions, where present, associated with saints on gold glass are almost entirely generic wishes for life and good health, and do not always label the saint depicted. Number **47** in the British Museum which personally evokes the protection of Saint Peter, is the only significant exception known to me. It is only Christ, and, albeit in a less uniform manner, Peter and Paul who can be readily identified in gold glass portrait-style depictions by their differentiated facial features. As in other contemporary media from Rome, portrait-style depictions of Peter and Paul appear far more frequently in gold glass than do the portrait-style depictions of other saints. Where other saints are depicted, however, the vast majority can also be linked specifically with Rome.

Considering that the majority of gold glass has been recovered from Rome and as such was most probably manufactured there, the frequent depiction of Peter and Paul, in most cases shown together on the same glass, is unsurprising. The obvious explanation is the Roman church's claim, formally established at the Council of Rome in 382, to have had a double apostolic foundation by Peter and Paul (Huskinson 1982, p. 35). Rome was furthermore the site of the martyrdom and burial of both saints (Jenson 2005, p. 186). Peter and Paul have been discussed above as representing two separate "branches" of the church, that is, the church of the Jews and the church of the Gentiles. Their depiction together thus may further serve to emphasise church unity. The apparent superiority of Paul, the perceived leader of the Gentiles, in the majority

of gold glasses however, is consistent with their manufacture in Rome where the vast majority of the Christian population were Gentiles.

Gold glasses illustrating the portrait-style depictions of saints, like those depicting secular people discussed in Chapter Five, employ largely generic figural representations made specific through the application of name labels. Akin to the cut and incised technique gold glasses depicting secular individuals, gold glasses illustrating saints can be envisaged as an expensive medium in Late Antiquity, but not items of aristocratic value comparable with silverware. Gold glass paired portrait-style depictions of Peter and Paul, appear not only to conform closely to the pictorial language of fourth-century Rome, but also to the pattern of contemporary popular Christian thought. This is also true of other saints depicted in gold glass, each of whom in the British Museum collection had a popular cult in late fourth-century Rome. The following chapter will now move on to consider Biblical episodic imagery in the context of both the pictorial language and contemporary religious thought in the fourth-century.

## **Chapter 7: The iconography of the British Museum gold glasses: Biblical and apocryphal episodic imagery**

‘Biblical episodic imagery’ is, in this thesis, taken to mean the depiction of specific events described in scripture. Fourth-century Christian Biblical episodic images commonly abridge and even diverge from their source narratives in ways which suggest that they were not simply excerpted scenes intended to aid viewers in the recall of a particular narrative (Jensen 2007, p. 71; Tkacz 2001, pp. 17-18). Instead, they functioned to illuminate the meaning of an entire story, or perhaps one of its more specific elements in a distinctly Christian context. Biblical episodic imagery in gold glass is no exception.

In terms of the subjects depicted and the specific pattern of rendition, Biblical and apocryphal episodic imagery in gold glass can be paralleled almost exactly in the vast majority of contemporary fourth-century art from Rome and the Western Empire. These parallels occur in a whole range of media from monumental types such as sarcophagi and catacomb painting, to more minor art-forms such as bronze medallions and point-engraved glass. This suggests that, like the portrait-style depictions of secular people and saints, Biblical episodic imagery in gold glass relates strongly to the artistic language of fourth-century Rome. Consequently, in this chapter, I will not cite multiple parallels to gold glass Biblical episodic imagery in other media. Instead, I will examine the trends observable in the gold glass depictions based upon a case study of the material observable in the British Museum collection.

Broadly contemporary with gold glass, glass vessels with incised decoration provide a suitable comparison within the same media. Fragments of engraved glass have been found throughout the western empire and, like gold glasses, incorporate Biblical episodic imagery as well as overtly pagan scenes and recreational activities, chiefly depictions of hunting (Caron 1997, p. 19; Harden 1960, pp. 44-81). The largest surviving corpus has been recovered from the Rhineland. Engraved glass imagery comparable with the depictions in gold glass are noted under the relevant subheadings below. The two most notable pieces being the Arras Cup (Arveiller-Dulong & Nenna

2005, p. 325, no. 918) and the Podgoritza bowl (Zalesskaya 2006, pp. 248-9, no. 607), which are both discussed in detail with regard to the gold glass St Severin bowl in the British Museum collection. Like the majority of other contemporary media, however, the representation of each episode is often identical to its appearance in gold glass. In only a very few instances does a wider range of types appear to have been employed.

The British Museum collection is highly eclectic in nature and, as such, illustrates only a small sample of the Biblical and apocryphal episodic imagery present in the larger corpus of gold glass published by Morey. Thirteen gold glasses in the British Museum collection depict Biblical or apocryphal episodic imagery; all are produced in the cut and incised technique. Two, numbered **17** and **18**, constitute complete vessel bases and as such retain all of their intended iconography. Ten glasses take the form of individual diminutive medallions, numbered **7, 8, 9, 10, 30-33, 54** and **56**. As discussed above in Chapter Three, individual diminutive medallions once formed part of a sequence on the wall of a single vessel, much like the St Severin bowl (**39**). Consequently, each individual medallion only depicts a single element of a complete sequence. The St Severin bowl is the only example of a diminutive medallion studded bowl to retain, albeit in fragmentary form, partial sequences of Biblical episodic elements across twelve remaining medallions. Nine other surviving medallions on the St Severin bowl take the form of small stars or leaf-sprays.

The element referred to here as the 'rod-wielding' figure occurs frequently in gold glass, and is noted below as being associated with almost every example of Old and New Testament episodic imagery. In each instance it takes the form of a short-haired and clean-shaven male figure, dressed in a tunic and pallium and holding a rod or wand. As discussed below, this element is used almost exclusively in the illustrations of New Testament episodes to represent Christ in the performance of various miracles, the rod symbolising agency. When the element is applied to Old Testament episodes, however, the meaning is far less apparent, and might be interpreted as part of the Biblical narrative (in some instances), Christ as Logos, or the personification of deliverance from danger. The application of the rod-wielding figure to Biblical episodic imagery is discussed in detail in relation to each specific episode included within the

British Museum collection below, and its meaning is analysed in detail at the end of the chapter.

A maximum of ten biblical and apocryphal episodes are present in the British Museum gold glasses. However, the complete iconographic schema is only retained for two of them, vessel bases numbers **17** and **18**. Because episodic imagery in gold glass can be paralleled near precisely in other standardized contemporary media it is possible to reconstruct whole sequences of diminutive medallions from a single element, often using gold glass diminutive medallions from other collections. Where necessary, this has been done below with regard to partial sequences in the British Museum collection. The Scriptural episodes present upon the British Museum gold glasses are individually discussed in the order that they appear in the Bible: the Fall of Man; the sacrifice of Isaac; Moses and (or) Peter striking the rock; the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace; Daniel in the den of lions; Susanna and the elders; Daniel and the dragon of Babylon and the story of Jonah. The woman with the issue of blood and the raising of Lazarus are discussed together in the context of their possible conflation in the same scene. Retaining elements of at least six separate episodes upon a single vessel, the complete iconography of the St Severin bowl is then examined as a whole, and, where possible, reconstructed at the end of the section. The general trends occurring in the various Biblical episodic images in the British Museum gold glass collection are summarized at the end of the chapter. They are applicable to the medium of gold glass as a whole.

### **The Fall of Man (Appendix 1 nos. 39 & 53)**

The Old Testament account of the Fall of Man (Genesis 3: 1-21) is represented on two gold glasses in the British Museum collection, both of them diminutive medallions. The first, incorporating all three major elements of the episode as depicted in other contemporary fourth-century media, appears upon a single medallion on the larger fragment of the St Severin bowl (**39**), illustrated in Figure 55. Closely akin to depictions of the Fall of Man in other contemporary media, within a slightly distorted single-band circular border, is depicted a serpent-entwined and fruit-laden tree either side of

which stand two figures. Both figures are naked. That to the right, and at whom the serpent looks, is female and thus represents Eve. With her right hand Eve attempts to cover her nakedness, whilst with her left hand she reaches forth towards a circular indication of fruit upon the tree. She has long hair, with what appears to be a ring set at the top, and is depicted as quarter-turned towards the tree in the centre of the field. The male figure to the right, representing Adam, is quarter-turned to the left and attempts to cover his nakedness with both hands. Adam is clean-shaven and has a full head of short hair. In the field, a single space-filler dot occurs behind Eve, whilst two are present at the back of Adam.

The second instance of this episode in the British Museum collection occurs only as the depiction of a single figure representing Adam. Numbered **53** in the collection, it is illustrated here in Figure 56. Within a single-band hexagonal border a single short-haired and beardless naked male figure is depicted, quarter-turned to the right. With his left hand, he attempts to cover his nakedness, whilst his right arm is positioned across his body, his hand outstretched as if in the act of reception. In the field are depicted four heart-shaped leaf-spray space-fillers.

The figure is easily identifiable with Adam in comparison with other contemporary media, in particular other instances of gold glass. He is paralleled identically on gold glass vessel bases where both the serpent-entwined fruit-laden tree and the figure of Eve are represented. One example exists in the Vatican Museum (inv. no. 712 (ex-231); Morey 1959, pl. VIII, no. 47) bearing the generic inscription DIG[nit]AS [a]MICORVM PIE [zeses], 'Be the pride of your friends, drink that you may live'. A further example, unaccompanied by any inscription, is illustrated by Garrucci as being in the Museo Borgiano di Propaganda (Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pp. 123-4, pl. 172.1), though the current whereabouts of the piece is unknown. Number **53** once formed part of a sequence of medallions upon the wall of a single vessel. From left to right, the medallions in the sequence would have depicted a serpent-entwined fruit-laden tree, instances of which occur frequently in gold glass (e.g. Morey 1959, pls. XXI & XXIV. nos. 136-7 & 217), and Eve, exemplified in the Corning Museum of Glass (inv. no. 66.1.202; Whitehouse 2002, no. 833). Iozzi's illustration of the medallion depicting Eve is presented in Figure 1a of this thesis.



**Figure 55.** The St Severin bowl, number **39** in the British Museum collection (detail), showing a diminutive medallion depicting the Fall of Man (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).



**Figure 56.** Gold glass diminutive medallion number **53** in the British Museum collection depicting Adam, part of a sequence illustrating the Fall of Man (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The serpent-entwined fruit-laden tree also features in other contemporary media associated with the Biblical episode of Daniel and the Dragon of Babylon (on sarcophagi, e.g. Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pls. 366.3, 370.1 & 383.5), and the myth of Heracles and the apples of the Hesperidins (in catacomb painting, e.g. Ferrua 1991, fig. 130, from the Via Latina Catacomb, Rome; and on rare instances of contemporary coinage, e.g. Jenson 2005, fig. 40). Gold glass diminutive medallions depicting the

serpent-entwined tree may have been an interchangeable stock element also used in gold glass diminutive medallion sequences depicting these episodes.



**Figure 57.** Gold glass diminutive medallion number **31** in the British Museum collection depicting a rod-wielding male figure (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

In the British Museum collection, a generic rod-wielding male figure appears on diminutive medallions numbers **31** and **32**. The element is also present as a single medallion upon the St Severin bowl (**39**; illustrated in Appendix 1). Illustrated in Figure 57, number **31** has a single line octagonal border. In the centre of the field is depicted a full-length male figure, quarter-turned to the left. He is short-haired and beardless and moves towards the left. In his right hand he holds a rod, described by some scholars as a wand (e.g. Mathews 1995, pp. 84-9). He wears a tunic and pallium, draped over his left lower arm. Leaf-spray space-fillers appear in the field surrounding the figure on each example. The rod-wielding figure appears explicitly in association with the Fall of Man on a single gold glass vessel base in the Ashmolean Museum depicting multiple Biblical episodes (inv. no. 2007.13; Morey 1959, pl. XXXI, no. 366). As such, it may also have been present in a fourth medallion associated with the Fall of Man illustrated as a gold glass diminutive medallion sequence.

The rod-wielding figure does not appear in association with the Fall of Man on other gold glass vessel bases where the episode is depicted in isolation. It is also absent from the depiction of the episode in all other contemporary media known to me. In gold glass, the addition of a rod-wielding figure to the scene on a vessel base would have



made the image unsymmetrical, elongated, and cramped within the circular border. It is thus plausible that it is absent from gold glass vessel bases for simple reasons of athletics. Because the rod-wielding figure is explicitly related to the Fall of Man episode on the Ashmolean Museum gold glass vessel base, however, it is likely that it was also present in association with the episode as a diminutive medallion sequence. Illustrated in Figure 55, on the St Severin bowl the medallion to the right of that depicting the Fall of Man has been broken away; it is plausible that it was originally a medallion depicting the rod-wielding figure (Figure 68.7a).

The scene in gold glass captures both Adam and Eve at the moment of original sin (Genesis 3:6), however, allusions to future events, namely the covering of nakedness after the consumption of the fruit (Genesis 3:7) are also made. The scene is thus not a narrative depiction of the biblical episode, but occurs rather as an emblematic schema representing the entire conflated episode in one image. The rod-wielding figure does not feature in the Scriptural account of the Fall of Man. The 'Byzantium' exhibition catalogue described the rod-wielding figure associated with the episode on the Ashmolean Museum gold glass vessel base simply as 'the creator' (*Byzantium* 1994, pp. 32-3, no. 9c). The figure may represent the confrontation and subsequent banishment of Adam and Eve by the Lord (Genesis 3:8-19). However, in the Biblical account it is only the voice of the Lord which is heard and he is not seen in person.

Morey identified the rod-wielding figure associated with the Fall of Man episode on the Ashmolean Museum gold glass as Christ, placing the episode within a Christian context (Morey 1959, p. 62, no. 366). Morey did not, however, provide any reasons for his identification. Nevertheless, the idea that this figure does represent Christ is highly plausible and Christ is depicted as a rod-wielding miracle worker throughout the whole range of other contemporary media (Mathews 1995, pp. 84-89). Adam was identified as a 'type' of Christ in the Bible by Saint Paul (Romans 5:14-19), and Christ was viewed specifically as the redeemer of Adam's original sin. Early Christian typology served to identify Old Testament figures that foreshadow, hint at, or even openly predict things that come to fulfilment centuries later in the New Testament (Woollcombe 1957, p. 39). In doing so, it also functioned to demonstrate the unity of the two Testaments (Tkacz 2001, pp. 57-9).

Christ depicted as rod-wielding miracle worker in association with the Fall of Man in gold glass thus probably functions to visibly present Christ as the redeemer of Adam's sin, placing the episode in a clearly Christian context. Indeed, the Fall of Man was viewed in the context of salvation on the contemporary point engraved Podgoritza bowl identified by inscription in the context of the 'Commendatio animae', a fourth-century prayer for the dead, discussed in detail below (Tkacz 2001, p. 125). The Fall was also viewed as a precursor of Christ's crucifixion in the fourth century (Konis 2006, pp. 32-3).

### **The Sacrifice of Isaac (Appendix 1 no. 39)**

A single diminutive medallion occurring as part of the St Severin bowl (**39**) depicts the Old Testament episode of the Sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis 22:2-13). Illustrated in Figure 58 and paralleled closely in other fourth-century media, within the circular single-band border are depicted all four of the major elements associated with the Sacrifice of Isaac. Isaac appears to the far left of the field. He is depicted as a heroic nude, clean-shaven and with short hair. Facing to the left, his ankles are bound together whilst his wrists are bound behind his back. Isaac's hair is grasped by the left hand of the larger central figure, identifiable as Abraham. Abraham wears a wide-sleeved girdled and striped tunic of the type worn by shepherds, fisherman and craftsmen whose work required freedom of movement in contemporary Roman art (Martorelli 2000, p. 247). His right arm is outstretched holding aloft a knife above Isaac's head. Above his right arm is depicted a single square altar, which emits a single flame. Abraham is shown here with a full head of hair and a beard, his head is turned back over his shoulder to look at a ram, emerging from behind him, facing left, with its head turned back to look at Abraham. Above the ram, emerging from the upper portion of the border, an outstretched arm with an open hand is shown making the gesture of giving.

Neither the complete scene, nor explicitly recognizable individual elements of it, survives on any other gold glass diminutive medallions published in Morey's catalogue or from other collections and published sources known to me. The complete scene, almost identical to that on the St Severin bowl, exists on a gold glass vessel base in the

Vatican Museum (inv. no. 755 (ex-232); Morey 1959, pl. XII, no. 71), accompanied by the generic inscription *HILARIS ZESES CVMTVIS SPES*, 'Joyfully drink with you and yours'. A further example, unaccompanied by inscription, is present in the State Hermitage Museum (inv. no. 1223; Zaleskaya 2006, no. 602).



**Figure 58.** The St Severin bowl, number **39** in the British Museum collection (detail), showing a diminutive medallion depicting the Sacrifice of Isaac (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The gold glass vessel base in the Ashmolean Museum (inv. no. 2007.13; Morey 1959, pl. XXXI, no. 366) mentioned above depicts the Sacrifice of Isaac in the same way. The vessel base also appears to depict the generic rod-wielding figure as applicable to both this scene and to the episode of Moses or Peter striking the rock, which occurs immediately before it. A diminutive medallion depicting the rod-wielding figure such as number **31** or **32** in the British Museum collection, might thus be envisaged as part of gold glass diminutive medallion sequences depicting the Sacrifice of Isaac. Indeed, on the St Severin bowl, the area positioned to the immediate right of the Sacrifice of Isaac is missing and so it is plausible that one of the medallions in this area (Figure 70.9a, 10b or 9c) originally depicted the rod-wielding figure.

The rod-wielding figure associated with this scene may represent the angel of the Lord and his conversation with Abraham (Genesis 22:11-13). However, this part of the narrative is already sufficiently accounted for through the outstretched hand from heaven. Isaac was identified in the context of salvation in the 'Liberæ' petitions of the

fourth-century 'Commendatio animae', a prayer for the dead particularly focussed upon salvation and discussed in greater detail in the context of the St Severin bowl iconography as a whole (Tkacz 2001, pp. 114-7). He was also identified as a type of Christ foreshadowing the crucifixion by contemporary writers such as Augustine (*City of God* 16.32; see also Jensen 2000, pp. 143-8). On this basis, the rod-wielding figure may represent Christ as 'Logos' visibly placing the episode in the context of Christian typology or a visualization of the specific act of salvation.

### **Moses and (or) Peter striking the rock (Appendix 1 no. 18)**

Although not labelled specifically as such on the object itself, gold glass number **18** in the British Museum collection depicts what was identified by both Dalton and Morey as Moses striking the Rock, from Exodus 17:1-6 and Numbers 20:8 (Dalton 1901b p. 22, no. 617; Morey 1959, pp. 53-4, no. 312). The piece takes the form of a vessel base, and thus the iconography upon it constitutes the intended depiction in its entirety. The original glass is masked by a heavy film of iridescence, making the iconography somewhat more visible from the reverse. The image is best discussed here in relation to the highly accurate illustration provided by Garrucci, illustrated in Figure 59 (Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pl. 172.9). Photographs of the glass as it appears today are presented in Appendix 1.

Paralleled closely in other fourth-century media, within the single-band square border, number **18** depicts a full-length man to the right of the field moving towards the left. He is beardless and short-haired, with his head turned slightly inward. He wears a tunic and pallium, the latter held in his right hand, whilst in his left hand he holds a rod. In the field above his right shoulder is depicted a scroll, probably intended as a space-filler. The figure is depicted with his left arm outstretched striking the rod against the top of a rock, appearing on the left of the field, from which a stream of water flows. Below the rock is depicted a youthful short-haired male figure, wearing a tunic and kneeling with his hands outstretched to the water. In the centre of the field, between the rod-wielding figure and the rock, is depicted a single tree. Aligned with the outside

edges of the border is the generic inscription *HILARIS PIE ZESES INDEO CUMTVIS*, translated as 'Drink that you may live joyfully in God with you and yours'.



**Figure 59.** Garrucci's illustration of gold glass vessel base number **18** in the British Museum collection depicting Moses and (or) Peter striking the rock (after Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pl. 172.9).

This same scene occurs both in gold glass vessel bases (e.g. Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Aquileia, inv. no. R. C. 1096; *Picturing the Bible* 2007, no. 19) and in single diminutive medallions (e.g. Vatican Museum, inv. nos. 660 (ex-496) & 645 (ex-003); Morey 1959, pl. XXI, nos. 142-3). It also occurs as a sequence of diminutive medallions, the individual rod-wielding figure element, numbers **31-2** in the British Museum collection, being paired with a second diminutive medallion depicting the water-yielding rock (e.g. Garrucci 1858, pl. II.11, now lost; Utro 2000, fig. 11). Following the biblical account closely, in each instance, the episode has been identified with the notion of salvation in the fourth-century 'Commendatio animae', a prayer for the dead (Tkacz 2001, pp. 114-7). Moses struck water from the rock in the desert in order that the children of Israel, identified with the kneeling figure with his hands outstretched to the water, should not die of thirst after leaving Egypt (Exodus 17:1-6 Numbers 20:8).

Despite the prevalent identification with Moses (Dalton 1901b p. 22, no. 617; Morey 1959, pp. 53-4, no. 312), the image upon the British Museum gold glass number **18** does bear distinct similarities to contemporary illustrations of the apocryphal act of Saint Peter striking water from the rock in order to baptise his jailors in the Mamertine prison, Rome (Jensen 1992; Jensen 2005, pp. 186-187). The composition of Peter's water miracle is identical to that of Moses in other media, the key difference being that Peter is shown balding and bearded, whilst figures identified with Moses, like on number **18**, are clean-shaven and with a full head of closely-cropped hair. Peter's water miracle is unmistakably depicted in this manner on two gold glass vessel bases, both in the Vatican Museum (inv. nos. 632 (ex-483) & 751 (ex-758); Morey 1959, pl. XIII, nos. 80-1). In both instances he is clearly labelled PETRVS, 'Peter'. This is the only example of episodic imagery depicted in gold glass to clearly identify by inscription the figure portrayed, enabling the viewer to identify the scene indisputably.

The iconographic similarity of the two episodes in gold glass was surely deliberate, however. In the context of Early Christian typology, Peter, in the fourth century, was specifically viewed as a type of Moses, and was discussed as such by Augustine in the context of Moses striking the rock (Augustine *Sermon* 352.4, translation in Hill 1995, p. 142). The distinctly similar image on gold glass number **18** in the British Museum, unaccompanied by any specific identifying inscription, may suggest that the episode was intended as a conflation of the two miracles, viewed simultaneously as both Moses and Peter, in the context of Christian typology.

### **The three Hebrews in the fiery furnace (Appendix 1 nos. 8 & 39)**

Elements from the Old Testament episode of the three Hebrews, Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3:8-27) occur on three gold glass diminutive medallions in the British Museum collection, numbers **8** and **39**. Number **8** constitutes an individual medallion. The remaining two are included in the smaller fragment of the St Severin bowl (**39**); however, these constitute only part of the full sequence of medallions which depicted this episode, the additional medallions having been lost. The three medallions in the British Museum and those illustrated in Morey's catalogue

(e.g. from the Vatican Museum, Morey 1959, pl. XXI, nos. 147-9) follow a near identical iconographic formula.

Number **8** in the British Museum (illustrated in Appendix 1) depicts a single orant male figure, clean-shaven and beardless, wearing a richly embroidered long striped tight-sleeved and girdled tunic, trousers, and a Phrygian cap with pendent strings. He stands amongst stylised triangular indications of flames and is surrounded by a single band circular border. Illustrated in Figure 60, the two remaining medallions from the sequence on the St Severin bowl (**39**) are near identical, albeit with slightly less embellished costume. The complete episode of the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace features as a composite part of the overall design on a single vessel base in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 1916.174.2; Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 448).



**Figure 60.** The St Severin bowl, number **39** in the British Museum collection (detail), showing the surviving part of a diminutive medallion sequence depicting the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

On the Metropolitan Museum piece, three individual Hebrews are depicted in precisely the same manner as they appear on gold glass diminutive medallions. To the right and undoubtedly related to the three orant Hebrews is depicted the generic rod-wielding figure, towards which all of the Hebrews face. Based on the gold glass vessel base in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the complete diminutive medallion sequence

depicting the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace on the St Severin bowl would have originally consisted of four medallions. Three would have depicted the individual Hebrews, and a fourth would have depicted the generic rod-wielding figure, akin to numbers **31** and **32** in the British Museum collection.

The three Hebrews are depicted in the same manner in the vast majority of other fourth-century media from Rome. In many instances, however, the fiery furnace itself is also shown. The absence of the furnace in gold glass diminutive medallion renditions of the scene is perhaps because of the division of the episode into three separate elements. In contrast to depictions of the Fall of Man and the Sacrifice of Isaac, the fourth additional figure is often included in association with the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace in other contemporary media from Rome (such as sarcophagi, e.g. *Picturing the Bible* 2007, no. 42). This additional person usually appears empty-handed, however, and only in rare instances does he carry a rod (e.g. on a silver reliquary dated to the late fourth century from northern Italy, *Picturing the Bible* 2007, no. 77).

The rod-wielding figure on the Metropolitan Museum gold glass vessel base and postulated as part of diminutive medallion sequences is likely to represent the fourth figure observed by King Nebuchadnezzar in the furnace itself as taking the form of one 'like the Son of God' (Daniel 3:25) protecting the Hebrews from the flames. This passage appears to form the particular emphasis of the scene as it appears in gold glass. The fourth figure was specifically identified as Christ by various fourth-century authors (for translations and discussion see: Tkacz 2001, p. 84, fn. 56). Representing salvation in the fourth-century *Commendatio animae* (Tkacz 2001, pp. 114-7), the episode itself was also typologically viewed as the foreshadowing of Christ's Resurrection in the fourth-century by Jerome (Jerome *Commentarii in Daniele* 1.3.92, translation in Tkacz 2001, p. 84, fn. 58). The rod-wielding figure associated with the episode in gold glass can thus reasonably be identified as Christ and visibly represent the act of salvation.

### **Daniel in the den of lions (Appendix 1 nos. 30 & 39)**

The Old Testament episode of Daniel in the den of lions (Daniel 6:16-23) occurs on three gold glass diminutive medallions in the British Museum Collection. Number **30** in



the collection constitutes an individual medallion. The remaining two are included on the smaller fragment of the St Severin bowl, numbered **39** in the collection; however, these constitute only part of the full sequence of medallions which depicted this episode, the additional medallions have been lost.



**Figure 61.** The St Severin bowl, Number **39** in the British Museum collection (detail), showing the remaining part of a diminutive medallion sequence depicting Daniel in the den of lions (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Within a single band octagonal border, Daniel, nude and orant, occurs on the gold glass diminutive medallion number **30**. Two small leaf-spray space fillers are positioned above his outstretched arms, whilst a larger leaf-spray above a single dot appears below each arm. The identification of this figure as Daniel, in the guise of the heroic nude, in the den of lions can be made from the appearance of a near identical medallion on the St Severin bowl, number **39** in the collection. Illustrated in Figure 61, at least two diminutive medallions from the complete episodic sequence of Daniel in the den of lions survive. To the right and slightly below the orant nude Daniel is depicted a single seated lion. The portion of the vessel to the left of the medallion depicting Daniel has been broken away. The medallion slightly below and to the left of it, the green edge of which is still visible, however, would almost certainly have

depicted a second identical lion. This would have produced a symmetrical emblematic representation of the scriptural episode paralleled almost identically in the artistic language of fourth-century Rome.

Illustrated above in Figure 61, in the outermost register upon the St Severin bowl, to the right of the naked orant figure of Daniel and above the surviving lion appears a single diminutive medallion depicting the generic rod-wielding figure. Whilst this element may relate simply to an unrelated image in a now lost medallion once appearing to the left of it in this outer register (argued below to form part of the Susanna episode), it is also possible that it is itself also connected with the Daniel episode. Indeed, on both of the vessel bases noted above as depicting multiple biblical episodes (Ashmolean museum inv. no. 2007.13, Morey 1959, pl. XXXI, no. 366; Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 1916.174.2, Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 448) a single generic rod-wielding figure can be viewed as associated with more than one scene.

Although completely unparalleled in other contemporary media known to me, this rod-wielding figure in association with Daniel in the den of lions in gold glass may have been intended to represent the act of salvation, specifically scriptural passage Daniel 6:23, where Daniel reports that the Lord 'hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths'. In the fourth century, Daniel in the den of lions was interpreted both in the context of salvation related to the *Commendatio animae* (Tkacz 2001, pp. 114-7) and as a type of Christ foreshadowing the Passion and Resurrection (for a full discussion and list of references see: Tkacz 2001, p. 82, fn. 53-4). The rod-wielding figure associated with the episode in gold glass may thus reasonably be identified as Christ as Logos, visibly placing the episode in the context of Christian typology, or the specific act of salvation.

### **Susanna and the elders (Appendix 1 no. 39)**

The smaller fragment of the St Severin bowl, number **39** in the British Museum collection, includes a single diminutive medallion depicting an orant female. Illustrated in Figure 62, within the single band circular border, the unlabelled woman stands

between two trees of the same height as her. She wears a long belted tunic appearing to have a vertical stripe upon either side running parallel from the shoulders to the bottom. She also wears a flat headdress with a long veil falling behind her head, parting into two at her back, each section visibly emerging from beneath her arms.



**Figure 62.** The St Severin bowl, Number **39** in the British Museum collection (detail), showing the remaining part of a diminutive medallion sequence depicting a single orant female, identified here as Susanna (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

The image of the orant woman is repeated almost identically in the Vatican Museum as the sole image on a gold glass vessel base, identified by Morey simply as a female orant (inv. no. 719 (ex-243); Morey 1959, p. 12, pl. VIII, no. 48). It is accompanied by the generic inscription DVLCIS ANIMA PIE ZESES VIVAS, translated as ‘sweetheart may you live, drink that you may live’. The orant woman herself is not specifically identified. Standing between two trees, the figure can also be paralleled in other gold glass vessel bases most often labelled in the field as Agnes (e.g. Vatican Museum inv. no 774 (ex-739); Morey 1959, pl. XIII, no. 82), or, less often as Mary (e.g. Vatican Museum inv. no. 694 (ex-451); Morey 1959, pl. V, no. 33). Indeed, although there are no female saints in the British Museum collection, this format appears to be the standard method of depicting the portrait-style depictions of individual female saints in gold glass (see, for example the gold glass portrait-style depiction of St Agnes illustrated in Figure 8). In other media, near identical images of an orant woman occurs frequently in contemporary catacomb painting (e.g. Ferrua 1991, fig. 140, from the Via Latina

catacomb) and sarcophagi (e.g. *Age of Spirituality* 1979, no. 371) from Rome. They are rarely identified by scholars as representing a specific person or scene.

Despite this, all of the other diminutive medallions on the St Severin bowl depict Biblical episodes or elements of them. It is thus unlikely that this medallion was intended as a portrait-style depiction. A closely comparable image on the fourth-century Podgoritza point engraved glass bowl from Montenegro (now in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. no. ω 73, Bank 1985, no. 26-9) is labelled with an incantation from the *Commendatio animae*, SVSANA DE FALSO CRIMINE, 'Susanna from the false crime'. This suggests that the figure on the St Severin bowl may represent all or part of the Biblical episode of Susanna and the elders as it appears in other contemporary media. With this in mind, it should be noted that the wall of the St Severin bowl upon either side of this medallion has been broken away (Figure 63). The diminutive medallions on either side have thus been lost. In other contemporary media (for example the, Brescia Casket, Tkacz 2001, p. 206), standing between two trees, the orant Susanna is flanked symmetrically on either side by the accusing elders. On the St Severin bowl, we might thus postulate the presence on either side of the medallion depicting Susanna a further diminutive medallion, each depicting an accusing elder.

The complete sequence comprising of all three figural elements does not occur on any recorded gold glass vessel base. Neither, until now, have either of the elders been identified on any surviving diminutive medallion. A plausible candidate, however, does present itself on a single gold glass diminutive medallion in the Vatican Museum (inv. no. 663 (ex-495); Morey 1959, pl. XXI, no. 138; a further example might be Morey 1959, pl. XXXIII, no. 416, now lost). Illustrated in Figure 63, the Vatican Museum piece depicts a nude short-haired and beardless figure. Moving towards the left, he covers his pudenda with his left hand whilst extending his right hand in a gesture of pointing. Occurring within a single-band circular border, a single tree is depicted both in front and behind him. Morey did not note the pointing gesture in his description of the piece (Morey 1959, p. 30, no. 138), mistakenly identifying the figure as Adam with his hand outstretched in the manner of receiving (e.g. number **53** in the British Museum collection, illustrated in Figure 56 above). This interpretation was repeated by Zanchi

Roppo (1969, p. 123-4, no. 140) and very recently by Utro (2000, p. 67, fig. 8) and is certainly in error. If identified with Adam, the figure would place more emphasis on Adam's accusation of Eve (Genesis 3:12) and not the original sin, and is unparalleled in all other contemporary media known to me.



**Figure 63.** Gold glass diminutive medallion in the Vatican Museum collection possibly depicting an accusing elder from the Biblical episode of Susanna (inv. no. 663 (ex-495); Photograph: Eileen Rubery).

Comprising of the three diminutive medallions postulated above, the Biblical episode of Susanna and the elders on the St Severin bowl is not a narrative depiction, but rather encapsulates the entire episode in a single image. In the central medallion, still retained on the St Severin bowl, Susanna is apparently confronted whilst at her bath in the garden, indicated by the two trees. Although not paralleled in other media, the nudity of the elders postulated in medallions on either side would appear to indicate their intention to rape Susanna (Daniel 13:15-21). The fully-clothed, but more importantly orant (praying) Susanna would, however, seem instead to refer to the point in the narrative, not of Susanna's confrontation at her bath, but rather at the point at which Susanna appeals directly to God following her accusation (Daniel 13:42-44). The pointing gesture of the elders may also represent the preceding public accusation (Daniel 13:34-40). Susanna appears here un-veiled, as is stated in the narrative at the point when she is publically accused (Daniel 13:31). This would leave the flanking trees not only as an indication of the garden, but also purity and Susanna's innocence in the form of the hortus conclusus.

A further diminutive medallion depicting the generic rod-wielding figure (e.g. number **31-2**) might also have formed part of this sequence in gold glass. Indeed, in the reconstructed iconography of the St Severin bowl, discussed under a separate subheading below, the medallion depicting the rod-wielding figure retained on the larger fragment of the vessel appears to relate directly to the episode of Susanna and the elders on the smaller fragment (Figure 68.3a). Akin to its appearance in gold glass in association with other Old Testament episodes, the rod-wielding figure related to the story of Susanna is not paralleled in any other contemporary media known to me. Nevertheless, the potential for its presence in gold glass is apparent from the scriptural passage where Susanna appeals directly to God, who in turn stirs up the Holy Spirit in Daniel, who ultimately comes to Susanna's defence.

The rod-wielding figure in this instance may thus have been intended to represent Daniel driven by the Holy Spirit visibly performing the act of salvation. Indeed, the episode has already been noted in the context of the *Commendatio animae*. As well as representing salvation, Susanna was viewed as a type of Christ in the events leading up to his Passion, notably his silence before Pilate, by various fourth-century authors, including Augustine, Jerome, and most importantly Ambrose (for translations and a full discussion see: Tkacz 2001, pp. 74-81). The rod-wielding figure portrayed in association with Susanna and the elders might again be identified as Christ as Logos, visually placing the episode in a typological context.

#### **Daniel and the dragon of Babylon (Appendix 1 nos. 10 & 17)**

Two gold glasses, the single diminutive medallion, number **10** and the vessel base number **17** in the British Museum collection, depict the episode of Daniel and the dragon of Babylon. Gold glass number **17** constitutes an extremely well-preserved vessel base. It retains the intended iconography in its entirety and it is from this complete scene that the figure in the individual diminutive medallion (**10**) can be identified with Daniel from this episode. As such, number **17** is discussed here first.



**Figure 64.** Gold glass vessel base number **17** in the British Museum collection depicting Daniel and the dragon of Babylon (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Illustrated in Figure 64, within the square band reciprocal border with an embellished pyramidal projection in the centre of each side is the full length depiction of two adult male figures, short-haired and beardless. To the left of the field, the first is the generic rod-wielding figure with a plain nimbus. Appearing in the centre of the field, the second figure identified as Daniel wears a sleeved tunic and chlamys and is portrayed as moving to the right. His body is quarter-turned to the right of the scene; however, his head is turned backwards towards the rod-wielding figure and is perhaps in receipt of instruction. In his outstretched arms, Daniel holds a spherical object representing the poisoned cake of pitch and fat. To the far right of the scene is depicted the dragon of Babylon, with a long sinuous neck and crested head. It rises from a pile of rocks facing the second figure and bites at the spherical object held. In the field above the dragon is depicted a lenticular leaf and disc, interpreted here as simple space-fillers.

No other gold glass vessel base as been recorded as depicting this episode. Instead, gold glass parallels exist in the form of diminutive medallions, each depicting a specific

element of the scene originally arranged together in sequence upon the wall of a larger vessel. Daniel carrying the poisoned cake of pitch and fat represented as a spherical object appears on the diminutive medallion number **10** in the British Museum collection (illustrated in Appendix 1). The dragon of Babylon, depicted identically to that on number **17** in the British Museum collection, is also paralleled in a single diminutive medallion in the Ashmolean Museum collection (inv. no. 2007.18; Morey 1959, pl. XXXII, no. 371). The generic rod-wielding miracle worker appears on numerous gold glass diminutive medallions and is exemplified by numbers **31-2** in the British Museum collection.

This scene, presented in its entirety on gold glass number **17**, has been universally interpreted (e.g. Dalton 1901b, pp. 122-3, no. 619; Morey 1959, p. 57, no. 345; *Picturing the Bible* 2007, p. 222, no. 48) as Daniel slaying the dragon of Babylon with the poisoned cake of pitch and fat (extended book of Daniel 14). The scene depicted is, to an extent, synonymous with the Biblical episode of the history of the destruction of Bel and the dragon, verse 1:27, in particular the placing of the poisoned cake into the mouth of the dragon. Whilst the central figure on gold glass number **17** thus represents Daniel, the second rod-wielding figure is unattested in the scriptural account. It has nonetheless been identified by Dalton, Morey, and very recently by 'Picturing the Bible' as Christ as Logos (Dalton 1901b, pp. 122-123, no. 619; Morey 1959, p. 57, no. 345; *Picturing the Bible* 2007, p. 222, no. 48). No reason has been given for this identification. Nevertheless, the identification of this figure with Christ is indeed plausible. Daniel was viewed as a type of Christ in the fourth-century, his slaying of the dragon of Babylon seen as an analogy of Christ's triumph over Satan (Tkacz 2001, p. 86). The presence of the rod-wielding figure identified as Christ as Logos in association with Daniel and the dragon of Babylon in gold glass may thus function to visibly present the episode in the context of Christian typology.

In other contemporary media, the episode of Daniel and the dragon of Babylon occur most frequently on sarcophagi from the city of Rome. Although the format of parallels in other media is closely related, no direct parallels of the scene as it appears in gold glass are known to me. Like in gold glass, in other media the dragon always takes the form of a serpent. Nevertheless, in no example in other media does it emerge from a



rocky eminence. On sarcophagi, the dragon in the form of a serpent appears emerging from a circular opening (e.g. Garrucci 1872-80, pl. 320.2), from a tomb-like structure (e.g. Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 5, pl. 333.1), or, in multiple instances, entwined upon a single tree (e.g. Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 5, pls. 366.3, 370.1 & 383.5). In gold glass, this element is similar to the serpent-entwined tree from the episode of Adam and Eve, and appears frequently in Morey's catalogue as in the form of a diminutive medallion. As a result, it is possible to envisage a diminutive medallion sequence illustrating Daniel and the dragon of Babylon where the serpent-entwined tree, used as an interchangeable stock element, appears in conjunction with medallions such as number **10** in the British Museum collection, replacing the serpent emerging from the rocky eminence.

#### **The story of Jonah (Appendix 1 nos. 9, 39 & 55)**

Four gold glass diminutive medallions on the wall of the St Severin bowl, number **39** in the British Museum collection, depict elements from the story of Jonah and the great fish. Two further individual diminutive medallions, each paralleling medallions on the St Severin bowl, are recorded as number **9** and **55** in the British Museum collection. Illustrated in Figure 65 below, the four diminutive medallions on the St Severin bowl are arranged in sequence as a distinct group across both the middle and inner registers. The wall of the vessel to the right of the sequence has been broken away, and thus is possible that a fifth medallion related to the Jonah story may have been present.

In previous detailed descriptions of the St Severin bowl, the first medallion in the Jonah sequence has been identified as occurring in the middle register, higher up than the other three remaining medallions in the sequence (Dalton 1901b, p. 126, no. 629; Morey 1959, p. 58, no. 349.7). Within a single-band circular border it depicts a ship occupied by four men, one of whom Morey identified as Jonah (Morey 1959, p. 58, no. 349.7). All four figures are depicted identically, facing towards the left, short haired and beardless with apparently naked breasts. The ship is without a sail, and is being rowed to the right of the field. Below the ship are indications of swirling waters. Above

the vessel is depicted a single bulbous-headed sea creature, facing right, with a long curling tail depicted in profile with a large eye and small fin upon the side. The creature appears to have a long tongue emerging from its open mouth and curling around the top of its head. In relation to the scriptural account, occurring first in the sequence this scene would be applicable to Jonah's attempt to flee from the task that God has set him, the resulting storm and the sailors' vain attempt to row to safety, before casting Jonah over the side (Jonah 1:4-16). The indication of the great fish appears in anticipation of verse 1:17, where the Lord had prepared a great fish to swallow Jonah.



**Figure 65.** The St Severin bowl, Number 39 in the British Museum collection (detail), showing the remaining part of a diminutive medallion sequence depicting the story of Jonah and the great fish (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

In the inner register, appearing to the far right of the Jonah group, occurs what has generally been considered as the second medallion in the sequence. Within a broadly circular single band border is the sea monster, taking the form of the Greco-Roman 'ketos' and quite different from the bulbous-headed dolphin-like creature illustrated in the previous medallion. From its open jaws protrude the naked legs of Jonah as he is swallowed (Jonah 1:17), head first, by the monster. The image is again repeated near precisely in the medallion positioned to the left of both this and the medallion considered by Dalton and Morey to be first in the sequence. The ketos is again shown in the same pose, however, this time it is the head and naked upper body of the praying orant Jonah which appears emerging from the jaws of the sea monster, thus

encompassing all of Jonah chapter 2:1-10. The last diminutive medallion in the sequence, present upon the inner register to the far left of the Jonah group depicts within the single band circular border, the naked reclining figure of Jonah. He is supported on the ground by his right arm, whilst his left is flung over and behind his head. Above him hang five gourds and the scant indications of the gourd vine, representing the single verse, Jonah 4:6.

In contrast to the universally accepted order of the sequence, a straight right to left reading of the medallions seems to be far more plausible. The first medallion thus becomes Jonah swallowed by the sea monster in the lower register. The second in the sequence then becomes the image of the boat, above which is depicted the great fish having swallowed Jonah and referring specifically to Jonah spending three days and nights in its belly. Although not occurring in contemporary media other than gold glass, thus interpreted, verse 1:17 of Jonah as it appears upon the St Severin sequence is split between two adjacent medallions. The third and fourth medallions are placed accordingly to the left and as noted by Dalton. This ordering of the medallions upon the St Severin bowl would depict the entire sequence running, rather oddly and unparalleled in any other media, from right to left. However, this can easily be explained with regard to the production methodology for gold glass diminutive medallion studded bowls explored in Chapter Four. On these bowls, the iconography is initially cut in retrograde upon the outside of the vessel wall. The artist or craftsman producing the Jonah sequence on the St Severin bowl thus, perhaps whilst his concentration had lapsed, cut in retrograde the Jonah sequence from left to right. It thus appeared in reverse, from right to left, when viewed, as intended, from the inside of the bowl.

Each of the elements of the Jonah sequence on the St Severin bowl are paralleled identically in other gold glass diminutive medallions from published collections, including numbers **9** and **55** in the British Museum collection. The final medallion of the Jonah sequence on the St Severin bowl, depicting Jonah reclining underneath the gourd vine, is paralleled precisely as the sole depiction unaccompanied by inscription on a vessel base in the Vatican Museum collection (inv. no. 714 (ex-238); Morey 1959, pl. VII, no. 46). Other gold glass vessel bases depict Jonah being cast from the ship into

the mouth of the great fish (e.g. the St Ursula bowl **(36)**; Musée du Louvre inv. no. ED 1712 S 2053; Arveiller-Dulong & Nenna 2005, no. 933), accompanied by the simple generic phrase ZESES, 'live'. The entire episode also appears conflated on a single gold glass diminutive medallion now in the Corning Museum of Glass (inv. no. 66.1.205; Whitehouse 2001, no. 834).

The portion of the St Severin bowl to the immediate right of the Jonah sequence is broken away. Nevertheless, it has been argued above that the original medallion to the upper right of the Jonah sequence was likely to have been an example of the generic rod-wielding figure, associated with the Fall of Man medallion. The medallion to the immediate right has also been postulated above as an example of the generic rod-wielding figure, associated with the sacrifice of Isaac medallion. The rod-wielding figure has been discussed above as being applicable to two separate episodes depicted on gold glass vessel bases (e.g. Morey 1959, pl. XXXI, no. 366 & pl. XXXVI, no. 448). It is thus plausible that a diminutive medallion depicting the rod-wielding figure in either position on the St Severin bowl was intended to relate to both the Fall of Man, sacrifice of Isaac and the story of Jonah (Figure 70.9c & 7a). Although no parallel exists in other contemporary media, this element in association with the Jonah episode may be interpreted as the Lord causing the sea-storm and summoning the great fish. Jonah was identified in the context of salvation in the fourth-century *Commendatio animae* (Tkacz 2001, pp. 114-7), as such, the rod-wielding figure may also have been intended to visibly represent deliverance and salvation.

Despite encompassing scenes spanning the whole book of Jonah, the St Severin sequence, repeated near-identically in other contemporary media, is in no way a narrative illustration. The cycle neither depicts the beginning (Jonah's call) nor end (the saving of Nineveh) of the scriptural account. Furthermore, Jonah's nudity and languid posture upon the last gold glass medallion in the St Severin sequence, bears no resemblance with the ending of the Biblical account and Jonah's anger at God for his sparing of Nineveh (Jonah 4:9). As in other media, as well as being explicitly related to the notion of salvation, the four separate elements of the Jonah sequence on the St Severin bowl typologically parallel Christ's Passion (deliverance to death and crucifixion, the three days in the tomb, the resurrection, and finally his ascent into

heaven). Christ compared himself with Jonah (Mathew 12:39-41) and as such the episode was considered to be one of the best known types of the Passion by fourth-century authors such as Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome (for a full discussion of Jonah as a type of Christ and list of fourth-century authors and their respective works to make the comparison see: Tkacz 2001, pp. 70-3). As such, the rod-wielding figure associated with the Jonah sequence in gold glass might be identified as Christ as Logos, visibly presenting the episode in the context of Christian typology.

**The raising of Lazarus and the healing of the woman with the issue of blood: a possible conflation of New Testament episodes? (Appendix 1 nos. 7 & 33)**

Gold glass diminutive medallions numbers **7** and **33** in the British Museum collection have predominantly been interpreted as part of a sequence depicting Christ's raising of Lazarus (John 11:1-44), most notably by Dalton (1901b, p. 123-4, nos. 624-5) and Morey (1959, p. 56, nos. 330). Illustrated in Figure 66, number **7** in the British Museum collection clearly represents Lazarus in the tomb. Within the single line broadly circular border he is depicted full-length, upright and wrapped in mummy-like grave costume. Lazarus appears beneath the portico of a brick or block built tomb in the form of an 'aedicula'. The tomb fronts three quarters right with two small slotted windows and a gabled porch supported by two columns.

Lazarus, wrapped in a mummy-like grave costume and depicted within a tomb, appears paired in association with the generic rod-wielding figure, representing Christ in the process of working the miracle of resurrection, on a gold glass vessel base unaccompanied by inscription, in the Vatican Museum collection (inv. no. 752 (ex-459); Morey 1959, pl. XIII, no. 77). It also occurs, often with the tomb depicted similar to that on the British Museum gold glass, in other contemporary media from Rome including the Brescia casket (Tkacz 2001, p. 214), sarcophagi (e.g. Dresken-Weiland 1998, pl. 20, no. 60 & pl. 109, no. 378) and catacomb painting (e.g. from the Crypt of the Virgin in the Catacomb of Marcellinus and Peter where the image is paralleled almost identically; *Picturing the Bible* 2007, no. 10b). We could thus pair diminutive medallion number **7** in the British Museum collection with a second medallion depicting the

generic rod-wielding figure, for example number **31-2**, to complete the illustration of the Biblical episode.



**Figure 66.** Gold glass diminutive medallion number **7** in the British Museum collection depicting Lazarus in the tomb (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).



**Figure 67.** Gold glass diminutive medallion number **33** in the British Museum collection depicting a kneeling woman identified as either Mary at the tomb of Lazarus or the woman with the issue of blood (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

In some instances of contemporary media, such as the Capesella Brivio silver casket in the Musée du Louvre (inv. no. Bj 1951; Noga-Banai 2008, fig. 3) and various sarcophagi from Rome (e.g. *Picturing the Bible* 2007, no. 39), however, a third element is included, taking the form of a kneeling woman. This element is most often interpreted as Mary falling down at the feet of Christ, lamenting that if he had arrived sooner Lazarus would have lived (John 11:32). Illustrated in Figure 67, within the single octagonal border, number **33** in the British Museum collection depicts the full length profile of a female figure, her head depicted frontally. She kneels to the right, her arms and hands

outstretched in front of her, wearing a tunic and palla with a veil blown out in an arc behind her. Her hair is patted onto her cranium, or possibly a single ring features as part of her hairstyle. She might thus also be added as a third medallion to the sequence depicting the raising of Lazarus, representing Mary.

However, paired with a second diminutive medallion depicting the rod-wielding miracle worker (e.g. numbers **31-2** in the British Museum collection) to the right, number **33** could also have formed part of a sequence illustrating the Biblical episode of Christ's healing of the woman with the issue of blood (Matthew 9:20-22; Mark 5:25-34; Luke 8:43-48). This scene is paralleled closely in other fourth-century media, most notably in sarcophagi (e.g. Dresken-Weiland 1998, pl.20, no. 60 & pl. 49, no. 138) as well as on the Brescia Casket (Tkacz 2001, p. 203). Although Christ is never shown as rod wielding in other contemporary depictions of this episode, the addition of a generic rod-wielding Christ in gold glass would certainly be far from surprising. In the body of gold glass published by both Morey and Garrucci, Christ is depicted almost without exception as a generic rod-wielding figure during the performance of his miracles (Morey 1959; Garrucci 1858; 1864; 1872-80, vol. 3).

Noga-Banai presents a lengthy and in-depth discussion of the possible conflation of the raising of Lazarus and the woman with the issue of blood upon the Capesella Brivio silver casket (Noga-Banai 2008, pp. 40-50). Reading from left to right, the Capesella Brivio casket employs the same three elements paralleled in gold glass diminutive medallions in the British Museum collection: the rod-wielding figure, the kneeling woman and Lazarus in the tomb (numbers **31-2**, **33** and **7** respectively). Like the Capesella Brivio casket, the diminutive medallions arranged in this order place the kneeling woman directly in front of the rod-wielding Christ. She is thus apparently in direct receipt of his miracle-working power, and is therefore more likely to represent the woman with the issue of blood, rather than as a more subordinate addition removed from the focus of the miracle positioned behind Lazarus, and as such representing Mary (Noga-Banai 2008, p. 41). When the three medallions are viewed together, the rod-wielding figure of Christ would have been seen as applicable to both the woman and Lazarus, positioned just behind. It is also plausible that the kneeling

woman in this sequence would have been viewed simultaneously as both Mary and the woman with the issue of blood.

Not noted in Noga-Banai's discussion of the possible conflation of the raising of Lazarus and the healing of the woman with the issue of blood (Noga-Banai 2008, pp. 40-50), the two episodes are depicted clearly conflated on multiple instances of contemporary sarcophagi from Rome (e.g. Garrucci 1872-1880, pls. 369.4, 380.2-3 & 382.2). In each instance, a rod-wielding Christ raises Lazarus; the woman with the issue of blood kneels behind him, touching his robe, and is accompanied by the figure of Peter, as in the scriptural account. Although taking a different form to how it is postulated to occur in gold glass, a contemporary conflation of these episodes were indeed practiced in other media and as such is certainly possible in this medium. Indeed, the simultaneous application of a single rod-wielding figure to more than one episode is clearly attested on two gold glass vessel bases in the Ashmolean Museum (inv. no. 2007.13; Morey 1959, pl. XXXI, no. 366) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 1916.174.2; Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 448) respectively.

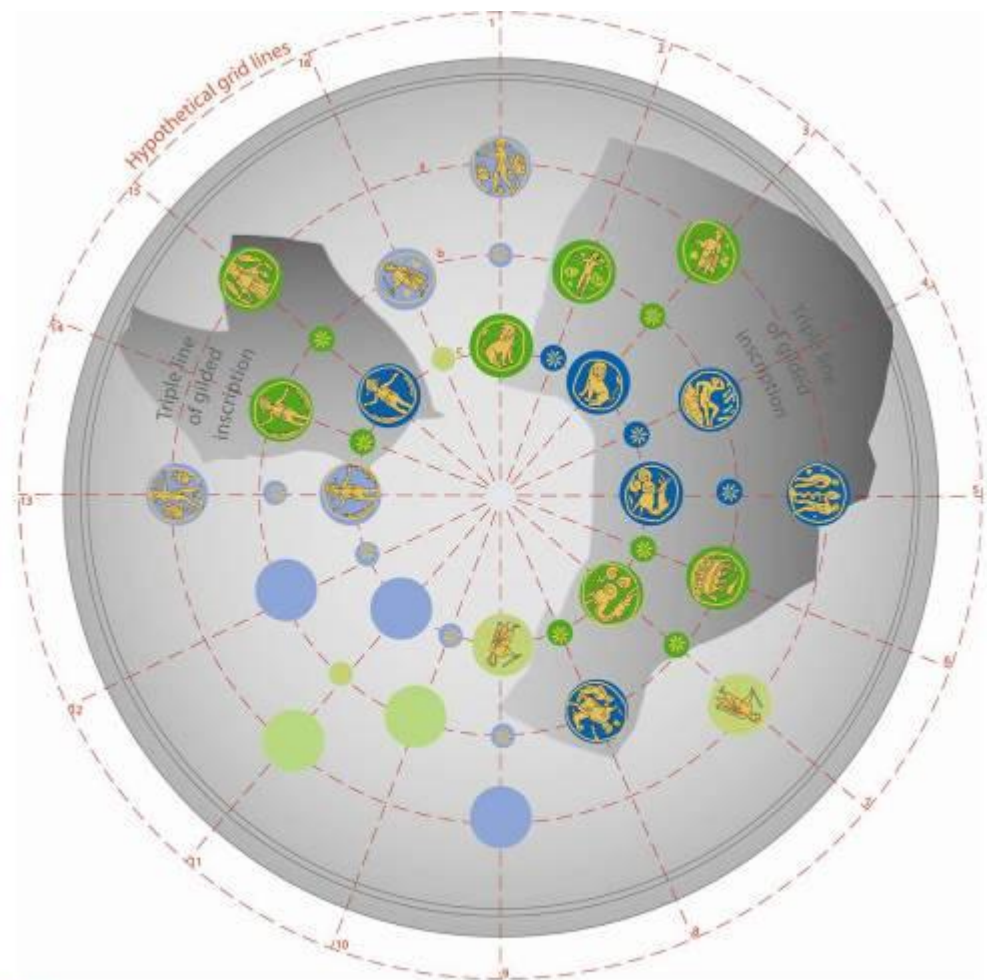
### **The reconstructed iconography of the St Severin bowl (Appendix 1 no. 39)**

The in-depth individual discussion of the Biblical episodes depicted on the St Severin bowl (39) in comparison with the same episode depicted in other gold glasses and in other contemporary media has allowed me to suggest a reconstruction of the complete elemental rendering of each episode. Using individual gold glass diminutive medallions from other collections to complete each scene, the complete episodic schema of the St Severin bowl can be largely recreated. A single blue glass diminutive medallion, depicting a rod-wielding figure, allegedly found with the St Severin bowl and originally part of the vessel is in the collection of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (inv. no. A139; *Picturing the Bible* 2007, no. 13, figure 1.) It is thus also included in the discussion of the complete vessel iconography.

Illustrated in Figure 68, the six Old Testament Biblical episodes surviving as incomplete diminutive medallion sequences are reconstructed to form complete sets of images, depicting the Fall of Man (Figure 68.5 & 7a), the sacrifice of Isaac (Figure 68. 9c & 8b),



Daniel in the den of lions (Figure 68.3a, 2b, 1 & 3c), Susanna and the elders (Figure 68.1, 3, 13 & 15a), and Jonah and the great fish (Figure 68.7c, 6b, 5c & 4b). The exact images on only five medallions out of an original twenty-four cannot be reasonably conjectured. Akin to other contemporary media, most notably sarcophagi and the Brescia casket, gold glass vessel bases which depict multiple Biblical episodes (e.g. in the Ashmolean museum collection inv. no. 2007.13, Morey 1959, pl. XXI, no. 366; and the Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 1916.174.2; Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 448) include both Old and New Testament episodes on the same piece. The remaining five medallions may possibly have depicted further Old Testament episodes, but could nonetheless have depicted episodes from the New Testament.



**NOTE**

Each time the figure is noted in the text the additional number (1-16) relates to the gridline whilst the following letter (a-c) relates to the concentric circle, identifying the individual diminutive medallion under discussion

**Figure 68.** My reconstruction of the complete iconographic schema on the St Severin bowl, number 39 in the British Museum collection (illustration by D. T. Howells).

On the basis that the surviving St Severin bowl fragments only depict elements clearly identifiable with Old Testament episodes, in 1966 Schüler interpreted the vessel as a wholly Jewish piece (Schüler 1966, p. 53). Schüler cited the wall paintings in the third-century synagogue at Dura-Europos in Syria in support of episodic imagery being a composite part of contemporary Jewish artistic language (Schüler 1966, p. 52). This interpretation is almost certainly in error, for although all of the surviving medallions depict scenes from the Old Testament, the emphasis is distinctly Christian. Each of the Old Testament episodes depicted on the St Severin bowl was viewed in the context of Christian typology by multiple fourth-century authors. Indeed, the designer of the St Severin bowl chose to depict precisely those moments from each episode at which the main character becomes a type of Christ, therefore demonstrating the unity of the two testaments. Further to this, however, the point depicted in every episode on the St Severin bowl typologically foreshadows Christ's Passion and Resurrection and the events leading up to it.

The remaining five diminutive medallions on the St Severin bowl where the iconography cannot be reasonably reconstructed (Figure 68.9 & 11a, 10 & 12b, & 11c) may perhaps have depicted other Old Testament episodes foreshadowing Christ's Passion and Resurrection not present in the corpus of gold glass published by Morey but nevertheless known from other contemporary media. In an era prior to the earliest known depictions of Christ's crucifixion, the complete episodic schema of the St Severin bowl may have been intended to represent the Passion of Christ in the artistic language of the Old Testament in use in fourth-century Rome.

In addition to typologically foreshadowing the Passion, each of the episodes identified on the St Severin bowl relate closely to the notion of Christian salvation, and in particular, the 'Liberatio' petitions of the 'Commendatio animae'. The *Commendatio animae* was an Early Christian prayer for the dead popular in the fourth century (Tkacz 2001, pp. 109-137), focusing on Biblical figures delivered from death by God. Each line begins, "Deliver, Lord, his soul, just as you delivered....," and is followed by references to Elijah, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Moses, Daniel, Susanna, and others (Spier 2007, pp. 9-10; various translations of the complete text are provided by: Tkacz 2001, pp. 114-7).

The point-engraved glass vessel known as the Podgoritza bowl (now in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. no. ω 73; Zalesskaya 2006, pp. 248-9, no. 607) illustrates eight Biblical episodes, two from the New Testament and six from the Old Testament, all accompanied by their corresponding incantation from the *Commendatio animae* (transcriptions in Bank 1985, pp. 275-6, nos. 26-9; translated in full in Northcote & Brownlow 1879, vol. 2, pp. 318-9). The six Old Testament episodes on the Podgoritza bowl (the Fall, the sacrifice of Isaac, the youths in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the den of lions, Susanna and the elders and Jonah and the great fish) are the same as those identified on the St Severin bowl, and are furthermore depicted at the same point in the Biblical narrative. Shown side-by-side, the two New Testament episodes depict the raising of Lazarus and Peter striking the rock. Based on the Podgoritza bowl, the five diminutive medallions on the St Severin bowl where the iconography cannot be reasonably reconstructed (Figure 70.9 & 11a, 10 & 12b, & 11c) may have depicted these scenes, discussed above as constituting sequences of two and three diminutive medallions respectively in gold glass.

Like on the Podgoritza bowl, traces of a three line inscription apparently associated with the diminutive medallion sequences is present on the wall of the St Severin bowl. It appears in two places on the surviving vessel fragments, in both instances around the top of the bowl in-between medallions in the outer register (Figure 68.4 & 14a). It is likely that inscription appeared in this position running around the complete circumference of the bowl (Figure 68.2, 6, 8, 10, 12 & 16a). Illustrated above in Figure 12, Morey read the larger of the two surviving inscriptions (Figure 68.4a) as 'OM(?)O ITV IR. However, on close inspection by myself, and with the use of colour enhanced photographs, the inscription seems instead to read '[...]/DE(?) [...]/OES[...]ZE(?)E (?)'. Illustrated in Figure 13, and reported in this thesis for the first time, the second inscription (Figure 68.14a) appears to read 'M[...] / TM(or V) [...] / .Z[...]'.

Akin to the Podgoritza bowl, the inscriptions associated with the medallion sequences on the St Severin bowl may have been excerpted incantations from the *Commendatio animae*. Alternatively, however, they may simply represent the standard generic wishes for life and good health also seen on almost every gold glass vessel base, irrespective of iconography. Indeed, if my reading is correct, then the final word of

both extant inscriptions 'ZE(?)E (?)' and 'Z[...]' respectively, might be ZESES, the generic Latinized Greek term frequently appearing on gold glass vessel bases meaning 'drink that you may live'. This phrase does not appear anywhere in connection with the *Commendatio animae*.

Despite the absence of any explicit identifying inscription connecting the St Severin bowl with the *Commendatio animae*, a visual association with the prayer might be inferred through the apparently generic application of the rod-wielding figure, surviving in two medallions from the bowl, to each Old Testament episode. The application of this element to each episode might reasonably be interpreted in terms of the *Commendatio animae* as 'the Lord' delivering 'Susanna from the false crime', 'Daniel from the den of lions' and so on. Alternatively, however, the rod-wielding figure applied to each scene may have been intended to represent Christ, visibly placing the episode explicitly in a typological context.

In many cases, the addition of a rod-wielding figure to each episode, although not paralleled in other media, may tentatively be interpreted as part of the narrative. However, in other episodes in gold glass not featured on the St Severin bowl (e.g. no. **17**), the rod-wielding figure appears associated with the scene despite not featuring in any way in the Scriptural account. Each Old Testament episode on the St Severin bowl is depicted at the moment the main character becomes a type of Christ. The rod-wielding figure element, used to represent Christ in depictions of his New Testament miracles, may thus have been intended to represent Christ as Logos, providing the Christian inspiration behind the event. On the St Severin bowl, the rod-wielding figure might reasonably have been interpreted both as Christ as Logos and deliverance in the context of the *Commendatio animae*.

### **General trends observable on gold glass representations of Biblical and apocryphal episodic imagery**

Biblical episodic imagery upon gold glass as illustrated by the British Museum collection conforms very closely to the standardized formula for depicting the same episodes in other contemporary media. As such, gold glass representations of Biblical

and apocryphal episodic imagery are seen to conform closely to the iconographic conventions popular in the artistic language of fourth-century Rome. As in other contemporary media, Biblical episodes depicted in gold glass often draw on a range of interchangeable stock-elements applicable to various different Biblical episodes, as well as to depictions of non-Biblical scenes. The eclectic nature of the British Museum collection of gold glass, does, at first sight, suggest an array of images distinctly weighted towards Old Testament episodes. Akin to Biblical episodic imagery in other media, however, the corpuses of gold glass published by Morey and Garrucci indicate that approximately equal numbers of episodes from both the Old and New Testaments were represented in gold glass (Morey 1959, Garrucci 1858; 1864; 1872-1880). Despite this, a cursory examination of the Biblical subjects depicted on gold glass published by Morey and Garrucci appears to show, like the portrait-style depictions of secular people and saints, a far narrower range of episodes and ways of portraying each scene in comparison with other contemporary media.

In the majority of cases, Biblical episodes depicted in gold glass are conflated into a single emblematic scene. Nevertheless, whether occurring individually on single vessel bases or as a collected sequence of different scenes upon the same object, the episodes depicted cannot be viewed simply at face value. Reflective of the corpuses published by Morey and Garrucci, each Old Testament episode in the British Museum collection is distinctly Christian in nature, depicting only the point in the narrative when the main character becomes either a type of Christ, or typologically foreshadows another New Testament figure such as Peter. In the majority of instances, and largely in contrast to other contemporary media, each scene is also accompanied by a generic rod-wielding figure. This additional element cannot always be identified with any passage from the Scriptural account of each episode. As Christ is depicted in identical fashion in both gold glass and in other media when performing his miracles, given the typological context of each episode it seems logical to identify this figure with Christ as Logos, providing the Christian inspiration behind the miracle.

In addition to this, each of the Old and New Testament episodes occurring in gold glass in the British Museum collection place an emphasis on salvation. The rod-wielding figure may thus have been intended to visibly represent the act of deliverance,

perhaps in the context of the contemporary prayer for the dead known as the *Commendatio animae*. Although inscription is often present, in almost every instance these exclusively take the form of generic wishes for life and good health, identical to those associated with the gold glass portrait-style depictions of secular people and saints. The lack of any specific identifying inscription accompanying each episode suggests that a single specific reading of each image was not intended. Typology and the unity of the two Testaments was a deeply significant issue in the fourth century, and prominent Christian thinkers such as Ambrose and Augustine preached extensively on the subject in public (Tkacz 2001, p. 58). The hope for personal salvation was also manifested in the fourth century through prayers such as the *Commendatio animae*. Gold glass depictions of Biblical and apocryphal episodic imagery appear not only to conform closely to the pictorial language of fourth-century Rome, but also to the pattern of contemporary Christian thought.

## **Chapter 8: The iconography of the British Museum gold glasses: Jewish, pagan and miscellaneous secular subjects and inscriptions**

Often overlooked by scholars in favour of pieces with overtly Christian iconography, the wide array of other image types occurring on gold glass include examples with explicit Jewish imagery, mythical heroes and pagan subjects, and also purely secular subjects such as sporting and recreational scenes as well as varied scenes of everyday life. Examples also occur bearing only secular inscriptions without any other visual embellishment. The British Museum collection is highly eclectic in nature; nevertheless, it does include nine gold glasses depicting subjects other than portraiture and Christian scenes (numbers **4, 5, 26, 34, 42, 46, 50, 52, 54**), at least one example from each of the categories of subjects noted above. Although British Museum gold glasses in this category are relatively few in number, they are representative of those published by both Morey and Garrucci. In the British Museum collection these subjects occur on gold glasses from a variety of the different subtypes identified in Chapter Three.

Gold glasses incorporating explicit Jewish symbolism are exemplified by the cut and incised vessel base number **26** in the British Museum collection. Mythical and pagan subjects are illustrated in the collection by a single diminutive medallion, number **54**, depicting one of the twelve labours of Hercules. Miscellaneous secular subjects and inscriptions are represented by six pieces, numbers **5, 34, 42, 46, 50 & 52**. Three pieces, the cut and incised vessel base fragment, number **34**, the gilt glass plaque, number **5**, and the gilt-glass trail vessel base, number **50**, constitute examples of inscription unaccompanied by further visual embellishment. The cut and incised blue backed gold glass number **46** depicts a gladiatorial scene, representing the more varied category of sporting and recreational subjects in gold glass published in the corpora of Morey and Garrucci (Morey 1959; Garrucci 1858; 1864). Gold glasses showing aspects of everyday life are represented by number **52** in the collection, illustrating the 'togam virilem sumere', the coming of age ceremony for a male child.

The British Museum glasses relating to each category are discussed under the appropriate subheading below. Other image types attributable to each individual subcategory on gold glasses from other published sources are also briefly noted, providing a fuller picture of this smaller and highly varied array of gold glass images little represented in the British Museum collection. The final part of this chapter constitutes a discussion of the general trends applicable to gold glass iconography as a whole.

### **Jewish Symbolism (Appendix 1 no. 26)**

The fragmentary cut and incised gold glass vessel base, number **26**, constitutes the only example in the British Museum collection clearly identifiable as being Jewish in nature. Illustrated in Figure 69, within the circular double band inscription enclosed border, the field is divided into two by a single horizontal line. The bottom half of the field contains, in the centre, a seven-branched candlestick with foliate branches (the menorah). To the left of the candlestick is depicted an amphorae or oil jar, beside which is a single dot, a circular cake or unleavened bread, below which is a leaf spray, and a horn. To the right of the candlestick are a citrus fruit, and a bundle of branches, to the right of which is a single dot. The upper half of the field has been broken away and the remaining iconography is illegible. The remains of the fragmentary inscription reads '[...]LV.PIE.ZESES[...]'. The only phrase identifiable is the highly generic and frequently occurring Latinized Greek 'drink that you may live'.

The iconography of number **26** is unmistakably Jewish, the symbols depicted being (from left to right) the oil jar, unleavened bread, ram's horn (shofar), menorah, citrus fruit (ethrog), and bundle of palm, willow and myrtle branches (lulav). These items are related to specific Jewish celebrations, for example, the lulav and ethrog were both displayed on the Feast of the Tabernacles (Sukkoth), whilst the shofar was blown at New Year. Collected together, they signify the unity of Jewish religious festivals and alluded to the messianic hope for the restoration of the temple (Fine 2007, p. 36-7; *Picturing the Bible* 2007, p. 202).





**Figure 69.** Gold glass number 26 in the British Museum collection displaying distinctly Jewish iconography (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).



**Figure 70.** Gold glass vessel base with Jewish symbols including the Torah-shrine flanked by two lions, situated at the top of the field, in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (inv. no. 1966.36.15; Photograph: D. T. Howells).

Gold glasses with distinctly Jewish symbolism form a concise group of fourteen surviving cut and incised type objects in the catalogue of gold glass published by Morey (Morey 1959). A more detailed catalogue of only Jewish gold glasses is provided by Schüler (Schüler 1966, pp. 59-61). The vast majority of pieces take the form of vessel bases and incorporate the same specifically Jewish iconographical elements as illustrated on the British Museum piece. Complete vessel bases invariably include the Torah-shrine, depicted as an open cabinet with scrolls arranged on its shelves and flanked either by doves (Schüler 1966, no. 6), or, more commonly by lions (Schüler 1966, nos. 4 & 5) as illustrated by the piece in Figure 70. It is thus almost certain that the Torah-shrine flanked by lions or doves, symbolising the centrality of the Bible to Jewish belief (*Picturing the Bible* 2007, p. 202), appeared in the upper portion of the field, now broken away, on the British Museum piece number **26**. Likewise, where inscription is included on complete vessel bases with Jewish iconography it is wholly generic in nature, taking the form of wishes for life and good health akin to gold glasses with distinctly Christian or Christianised images discussed in the previous chapters. It is therefore probable that the now lost inscription on the British Museum glass number **26** constituted generic good wishes in its entirety.

Schüler included in his catalogue a single diminutive medallion with a Jewish symbol (Schüler 1966, no. 12; Barag 1970, pp. 102-3, pl. 26a). Part of the Vatican Museum collection (Morey 1959, pl. XXI, no. 173), the medallion clearly depicts a shofar flanked by a lulav and indicates that gold glass diminutive medallion studded bowls, similar to the St Severin bowl, with explicitly Jewish symbolism must also have existed. Flanking the Torah-shrine and also occasionally the menorah (Schüler 1966, no. 6) on the majority of Jewish gold glass vessel bases, lions and doves also exist on individual diminutive medallions. On Jewish diminutive medallion studded bowls, these elements can thus be reasonably postulated as again appearing on either side of the Torah-shrine and menorah. The lion motif has been discussed above in the context of the St Severin bowl as being related to the Christian Biblical episode of Daniel in the den of lions. Doves often occur on gold glass vessel bases flanking the full length portrait-style depictions of female saints (e.g. Morey 1959, pl. XIV, no. 85) and associated with the diminutive medallion sequence of Noah and the ark (e.g. Morey 1959, pl. XXI, no. 140

& 141). Like other elements such as the serpent entwined tree discussed in the previous chapter, the lion and dove elements in gold glass diminutive medallion form apparently constitute interchangeable stock elements potentially applied to a variety of scenes from different religions.

The St Severin bowl, argued by Schüler to be a Jewish piece (Schüler 1966, p. 53), is, as I showed above, overtly Christian in nature. Nevertheless, it is possible that Old Testament images without the addition of the rod-wielding figure, argued above as representing Christ as Logos, could have featured on Jewish diminutive medallion studded vessels, perhaps alongside more explicit Jewish symbols. Indeed, Old Testament episodic imagery in a Jewish context does occur in the mid-third century Dura-Europos synagogue in Syria. If this was the case, then gold glass vessel bases with Old Testament scenes, but without the rod wielding figure identified with Christ, might have been interpreted as Jewish or acceptable to Jews. In this respect it is indeed notable that inscriptions associated with Old Testament Biblical episodic images, where they do occur, are all of a generic nature and do not relate to the Christian context of the scene depicted.

That unequivocally Jewish episodic scenic representation was acceptable to Jews in fourth-century Rome is perhaps demonstrated by a single gold glass fragment in the Vatican Museum (Morey 1959, p. 27, pl. XX, no. 116). The piece itself is in a fragmentary and highly abraded condition. Nevertheless, it clearly depicts a temple surrounded by a garden incorporating the specific Jewish symbols noted on number **26**. The image has been identified by multiple authors as depicting the feast of Tabernacles (for a discussion and full list of references see: St. Clair 1985). Illustrated in Appendix 1, the British Museum gold glass vessel base number **4**, less than half of which remains, depicts a classical temple akin to that on the glass depicting the feast of Tabernacles. No specifically Jewish symbols are present anywhere on the surviving fragment, however. Furthermore, the generic inscription [VIVAS] IN DEO, translated as 'Live in God' is associated with the scene, possibly indicating that it was intended to be Christian in nature.

Very few explicit instances of fourth-century Jewish art/art produced for the Jewish market have been recorded from Rome. Indeed, the few instances upon gold glass represent the most numerous collection of explicitly Jewish iconography in any fourth-century media. Where examples do occur in other contemporary media from Rome, such as the Cubiculum II fresco in the Villa Torlonia catacomb (Fine 2007, fig. 25; Rutgers 1995, pp. 74-5), they invariably consist of the same standard collection of symbols as is depicted on the vast majority of gold glasses (Fine 2007, p. 37). Gold glasses with explicitly Jewish imagery thus relate closely to the artistic language of fourth-century Rome employed in Jewish contexts.

### **The twelve labours of Hercules (Appendix 1 no. 54)**

A single diminutive medallion, number **54** in the British Museum collection, depicts an image not identified by either Dalton or Morey (Dalton 1901b, p. 117, no. 602; Morey 1959, p. 55, no. 324). Illustrated below in Figure 71, only very small fragments of what appear to be a single-band circular border remain. Within the field to the right is depicted a bull shown in profile facing left. In contrast to Dalton's description, the bull is reared upon its hind legs, rather than recumbent (Dalton 1901b, p. 117, no. 602), with its body facing right and its head raised. Top the left of the field is depicted a short haired and beardless male figure, naked save for a baldric over his left shoulder. His body is quarter turned to the left of the field whilst his head is quarter turned in the opposite direction to face the bull. In his hands the figure holds a cord, apparently attached to the bull. The left arm of the figure and cord has been lost through a chip to the surface.

First recognized as such by Garrucci (Garrucci 1858, p. 71), the scene can be identified here as the mythical episode of Hercules and the Cretan bull, the seventh labour from the twelve labours of Hercules. The episode certainly does not represent Mithras, commonly depicted in fourth-century art from Rome (e.g. a relief sculpture in the foundations of the church of San Clemente; Nardini 1990, p. 14). Mithras is exclusively depicted according to a standard format in almost every instance, wearing oriental costume with a Phrygian cap and cloak, whilst cutting the throat of the bull beneath

him. The seventh labour of Hercules, Hercules and the Cretan Bull, is however presented in a near identical fashion to the gold glass diminutive medallion number 54 in other contemporary third and fourth-century media from Rome and across the Western Empire. Examples include Sarcophagi (Jongste 1992, pp. 126-8) and a detail from the mosaic of the twelve labours of Hercules from Liria in Spain (now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, inv. no. 38315 BIS; for a catalogue of other examples see: Bayet 1921/1922). This indicates that Hercules imagery in gold glass relates closely to the artistic language of fourth-century Rome.



**Figure 71.** Gold glass diminutive medallion number **54** in the British Museum collection, depicting the mythical episode of Hercules and the Cretan Bull (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

Again paralleled closely in other contemporary media, a further gold glass diminutive medallion in the Ashmolean Museum collection (inv. no. 2007.16; Morey 1959, p. 62, pl. XXXII, no. 369) unmistakably depicts Hercules' third labour, the capture of the Cerynian Hind. The Cerynian Hind may also be identified as an individual element upon a diminutive medallion in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (Morey 1959, pl. XXVI, no. 253). An element of Hercules' eleventh labour, the Apples of the Hesperides, might also be present as a composite part of a larger diminutive medallion sequence. In other media, including the contemporary catacomb fresco in the Via Latina catacomb in Rome (Ferrua 1991, fig. 130), the tree laden with the golden apples and guarded by the dragon Ladon is depicted as a serpent-entwined tree. Noted in Chapter Seven as an interchangeable stock element forming part of the Christian Fall of Man sequence,

and also possibly part of Daniel and the dragon of Babylon episode, gold glass diminutive medallions depicting the serpent-entwined tree may be equally applicable to gold glass diminutive medallion depictions of the Apples of the Hesperides. It is reasonable to suggest that gold glass diminutive medallion studded vessels, akin to the St Severin bowl, depicting the twelve labours of Hercules must have existed.

Episodes from the twelve labours of Hercules also occur on gold glass vessel bases (e.g. Morey 1959, p. 5, pl. II, no. 12, depicting the episode of Hercules and the Erymanthian boar). Other pagan and mythological subjects occurring in the gold glass corpus published by Morey include Venus (Morey 1959, p. 4-5, pl. I, no. 10), Achilles and the daughters of Lycomedes (Morey 1959, p. 49, pl. XXVIII, no. 284), cupid (Morey 1959, p. 6, pl. III, nos. 15 & 18) and various personifications (e.g. Morey 1959, p. 6, pl. III, no. 17, possibly representing the personification of the three metals of coinage, gold, silver and bronze). Each of these examples occur on vessel bases.

### **Miscellaneous secular subjects (Appendix 1 nos. 46 & 52)**

Miscellaneous secular subjects are represented in the British Museum collection by two gold glasses, numbers **46** and **52**. Only one gold glass, the blue backed cut and incised sandwich glass vessel base number **46** in the British Museum collection, depicts a secular scene associated with recreation and sport. Illustrated in Figure 72, the glass depicts a gladiator. In the centre of the field is depicted an adult male figure, full-length, short-haired and beardless, advancing to the left.

The figure holds a sword in his right hand and a trident in his left. He wears a loincloth with indented edges and bound lower leggings. The top of the trident, loincloth and leggings were seen by both Dalton and Morey as being executed in silver foil (Dalton 1901b, p. 118, no. 603; Morey 1959, p. 52, no. 302). On my examination, however, this is actually gold leaf over-painted with white enamel detail. The figure wears a belt outlined and ornamented in over-painted red enamel. His upper body is nude, with the details of his torso highlighted in over-painted red enamel, but with the left arm protected with padding bound with thongs, to the upper part of which is fastened a piece of defensive armour known as a 'galerus'. Across the upper body is a baldric,

possibly an attachment for the galerus. To the right of the field is depicted a stele engraved with an ornamental X and surmounted by a windbag ('corycus' or 'follies pugilatorius') used to practice boxing, over-painted in reddish brown.



**Figure 72.** Blue backed gold glass number **46** in the British Museum collection, depicting a gladiator and his associated equipment (Photograph: D. T. Howells, © Trustees of the British Museum).

In the field, curved in accordance with the circular border on gold glass number **46**, is the inscription 'STRA TO NICA EBEN EVIC ISTI/VADEIN AVRE LI A'. In the field, horizontally across the bottom, and apparently separate from the preceding inscription is the generic Latinised Greek inscription 'PIE ZESE S', 'drink that you may live'. The complete inscription has been transcribed by Dalton as 'Stratonice, bene vicisti, vade in Aureliam. Pie zeses' (Dalton 1901b, p. 118, no. 603). Dalton reasonably states that 'AVRE LI A' probably relates to the province Aurelia in Cisalpine Gaul (Dalton 1901a, p. 225). However, he does not provide a complete translation of the entire phrase.

'Stratonice' is extremely unlikely to be the name of the gladiator depicted. No reference citing 'Stratonice' as a male name exists, indeed, 'Stratonice' apparently



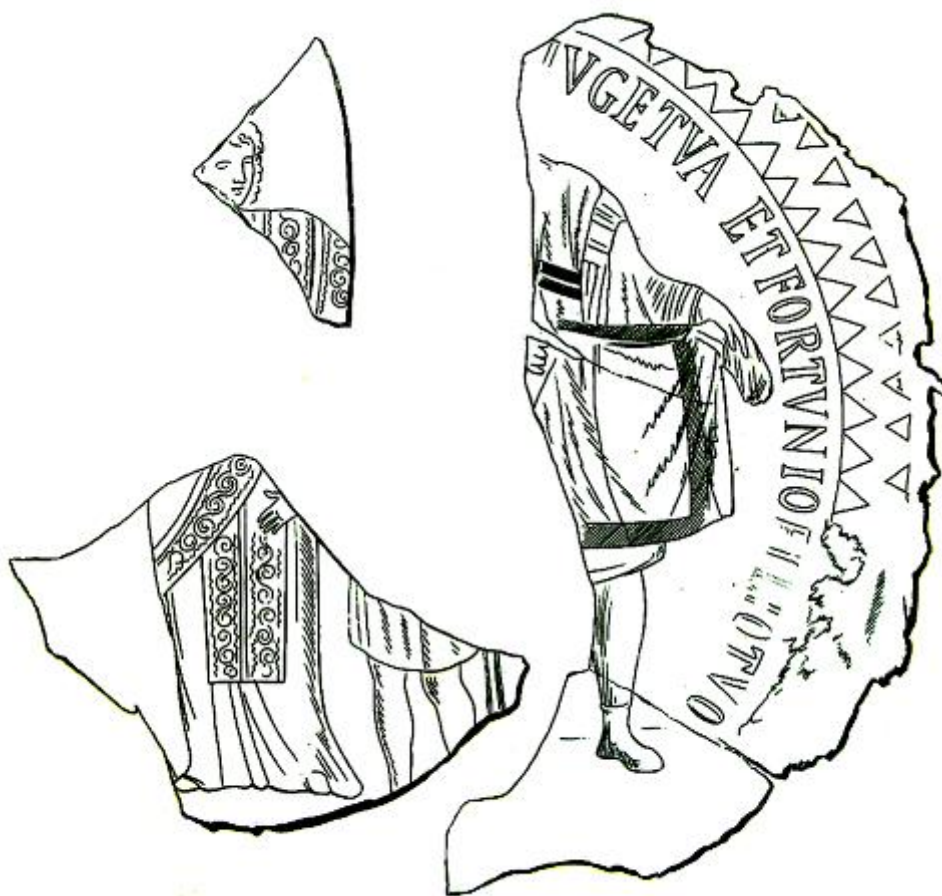
relates exclusively to various females of the Hellenistic and later Greek era. It is notable, however, that the city of Stratoniceia in Caria (western Anatolia) was named after one such female (Strabo, *Geography* xiv.2). Given the debate surrounding the word 'ACERENTINI' on the British Museum gold glass number **19**, discussed above as frequently being translated as Acheruntius, 'the Underworld', but in fact reading Acerentino, a small town in central Italy, it is possible that the word 'STRA TO NCA E' on number **46** is a very similar corruption of the town of Stratoniceia. Dalton's transcription of the word as Stratonice being in error, the full inscription on gold glass number **46** can in fact read in translation as 'You have conquered in Stratoniceia, go to Aurelia. Drink that you may live'.

Gladiatorial related imagery is extremely rare in fourth-century art across the Roman Empire. Number **46** is the only example known to me in gold glass. Other sports-related gold glasses from other collections published in the larger corpuses of Garrucci and Morey depict multiple instances of boxing (e.g. Morey 1959, pl. IV, nos. 27-8) and chariot racing scenes (e.g. Noll 1973, figs. 1 & 2; Alexander 1931, fig. 2). Other recreational activities such as the hunt (Morey 1959, pl. VI, no. 35) and the theatre are also represented in gold glass (e.g. Morey 1959, pl. IV, no. 25). Constituting a small, but nevertheless coherent category, all of them take the form of cut and incised colourless sandwich-glass vessel bases, and, particularly with regard to chariot racing scenes, are paralleled near identically in other contemporary media (Noll 1973, p. 33). This indicates that secular sporting and recreational subjects in gold glass, like each of the other categories discussed in the previous chapters, relate very closely to the artistic language of fourth-century Rome. Akin to number **46** in the British Museum collection, other glasses depicting sports or recreational scenes includes inscription specific to the image, often simply personal names, presumably the names of the athletes depicted.

Only one gold glass, the cut and incised gilt-glass plaque number **52** in the British Museum collection, depicts what can conveniently be described as a scene from everyday life. The piece is greatly abraded as well as being fragmentary in nature. The image is best discussed here in relation to the highly accurate illustration provided by Garrucci, reproduced in Figure 73 (Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pl. 201.3). A colour



photograph of the glass as it appears today is included under its respective catalogue entry in Appendix 1.



**Figure 73.** Garrucci's illustration of the cut and incised gilt-glass plaque number 52 in the British Museum collection, depicting the 'Togam Virilem Sumere' (after Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 201.3).

Within the serrated reciprocal border, number 52 depicts the full length figures of an adult male, an adult female, and a male child. The adult male stands on the right. Only the left hand side of his depiction survives, however, he is clearly visible as wearing a short tunic and what appears to be a chlamys with over-painted red enamel stripes. In both hands he holds a small tunic edged with over-painted red enamel stripes as if in the act of putting it on the male child standing in the centre. The male child, of which only the lower portions remain, is shown quarter turned to his right, his hand outstretched towards the adult female. He wears a short tunic. The adult female stands on the left and is shown with her head turned downwards and to her left, towards the male child. She wears a richly embroidered mantle. In the field, curved in accordance with the inner edge of the border, is remains of the inscription ending '[...]

[CUM CON]IVGETVA. ETFORTVNIOFILIO TVO', translated as '[...] with your wife and your son, Fortunius'.

Dalton suggested that the secular scene on the British Museum gold glass number **52** depicts the boy Fortunis receiving the garments associated with manhood from his father (Dalton 1901b, p. 121, no. 611). Although only the latter part remains, the inscription is clearly generic, and probably constituted a wish for the father's long and happy life with his wife and son. Nevertheless, the name of the child is not usually included in inscriptions in gold glass at the expense of his mother. This would indeed suggest that the image is specifically related to the male child Fortunis. Further to this, although the scene is not paralleled in any other contemporary media known to me, textual fragments dating from throughout the Roman period describing the 'togam virilem sumere', the coming of age ceremony for free-born Roman boys, do appear to equate quite closely to the scene presented on gold glass number **52**. Textual references to the 'togam virilem sumere' have been recently summarised and discussed by Dolansky (Dolansky 2008). Surviving descriptions relate that, after removing the 'toga praetexta', the boy received the 'toga virilis' from his father, indicating that he had attained adulthood (Dolansky 2008, p. 50, fn. 15). This ceremony is clearly what gold glass number **52** in the British Museum collection depicts.

No iconographic parallels for gold glass number **52** in the British Museum collection exist in gold glass or in any other media known to me. Other scenes from 'everyday life' occurring in gold glass in other collections are published within the larger corpuses of Morey and Garrucci, and apparently include shopkeepers (e.g. Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pl. 202.2), money lenders (e.g. Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pl. 202.1), breastfeeding mothers (e.g. Morey 1959, pl. XXVIII, no. 289) schooling (e.g. Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pl. 200.2) and other family scenes (e.g. Morey 1959, p. 26, pl. XIX, no. 110) on cut and incised sandwich glass vessel bases. At least one specific illustration of the wedding ceremony is also depicted (Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 447). A shipwright and various activities associated with his profession are featured on a single cut and incised gilt-glass plaque (Morey 1959, p. 23, pl. XVI, no. 96; illustrated and discussed in detail in: Ulrich 2007, pp. 35-49), akin to number **52** in the British Museum.

### **Inscriptions unaccompanied by visual embellishment (Appendix 1 nos. 5, 34, 42 & 50)**

Inscriptions without any visual embellishment are represented in the British Museum collection by four gold glasses. These constitute a cut and incised technique gilt-glass plaque (5), diminutive medallion (34), and vessel base (42) and a gilt-glass trail technique vessel base (50). Number 5 takes the form of a cut and incised gilt glass plaque. Although badly fragmented and abraded (the piece is illustrated in Appendix 1), within what appears to be a circular half disc reciprocal border enclosing an area approximately 130mm in diameter appear five lines of inscription interspersed with rows of lozenges. Each line is ended with a terminal ornament of dots and leaves or flowers. The lower line of inscription is underlined by a comparatively large leaf-spray.

The inscription on number 5 reads 'EDONI FR/[cum]CARIS COIV/[t]VA IE ZESES. O[m]NIBV[s] VENET/[ian]IS [vi]TA', transcribed by Dalton as 'Edonius Frater cum caris coniuge tua pie zeszes. Omnibus Venetianis vita' (Dalton 1901b, p. 117, no. 599). Dalton also suggests that Edonius may be a shortened form (or perhaps with initial letters now lost) of the popular fourth-century male personal name 'Macedonius' (Dalton 1901b, p. 117, no. 599). COIV might instead read CON, and thus, as Dalton has transcribed, form part of the word CONIUGE, meaning 'wife'. Not translated in any published source, the complete inscription is secular in nature and includes a wish for life and health in association with the Blue Faction in the circus. It does not, as Dalton suggests, constitute an expression of congratulations to a member of the Blue faction (Dalton 1901b, p. 117, no. 599). The complete inscription is translated as 'Brother Edonius may you [and your wife?] live sweetly/pleasantly with those that are dear to you, life to all the Blues'.

Illustrated in Appendix 1, gold glass number 34 in the British Museum collection takes the form of a small fragmentary and badly discoloured cut and incised gold glass. The piece may originally have been a vessel base, the upper half of which has been broken away. Within a single line border of short dashes the word 'ZH CAIC' unaccompanied by decorative embellishment features in the remaining lower portion of the field. The word constitutes the latter part of another Latinized form of the Greek '[ΠΙΕ] ΖΗΣΗΣ'.

Noted above as appearing frequently as a part of a longer generic inscription associated with the full range of images occurring on cut and incised gold glass, the phrase usually appears in Latin letters as ZESES. It translates as 'drink that you may live' (Dalton 1921, p. 142; Auth 1995, p. 103). The upper half of the vessel base almost certainly featured the Latinized word PIE (ΠΙΕ) to complete the generic phrase commonly occurring on cut and incised technique gold glasses.

A single diminutive medallion numbered **42** (illustrated in Appendix 1) in the British Museum collection bears an inscription unaccompanied by any visual embellishment. The upper portion of the medallion has been broken away and the bottom of a single letter, possibly P, remains. In the lower portion the word VITA, meaning 'life' has been preserved. The complete inscription is not surrounded by a border of any kind. Akin to number **42**, inscriptions appearing on diminutive medallions also predominantly take the form of short wishes for life and health. Some bear the complete inscription (e.g. Morey 1959, p. 41, pl. XXV, no. 232), whilst others include only a part of it. The single medallion published by Morey bearing the word DIGN ITAS (Morey 1959, p. 34, pl. XXI, no. 175), for example, was evidently intended to have been paired with a second medallion with the word AMICORVM, completing the phrase which frequently occurs in association with various imagery on gold glass translated as 'be the pride of your friends'.

Unlike vessel bases and plaques where the complete image survives, however, diminutive medallions formed sequences on the walls of larger vessels. It is thus probable that gold glass diminutive medallions bearing only inscription once formed part of a larger vessel and as such was intended to accompany other medallions with pictorial iconography. They thus do not take the form of isolated inscriptions unaccompanied by any further visual embellishment like those on vessel bases and plaques.

In the larger corpus of gold glass published by Morey, and from other publications an collections known to me, cut and incised technique glasses bearing inscription unaccompanied by any further visual embellishment follow the same pattern as those in the British Museum collection. Most often taking the form of vessel bases, many,

like number **34**, constitute short generic phrases, usually wishes for life and health (e.g. Morey 1959, p. 6-7, pl. III, nos. 19-20 & 22; see also: Wibl  1980). Other inscriptions, like that on number **5** in the British Museum collection bear slightly longer phrases, often including a family name. These are nonetheless akin to the largely generic wishes for life and health discussed above as being associated with various images, including secular and saintly portrait-style depictions and images of Biblical episodes. Occasionally, inscriptions also take the form of generic assertions of virtue, often including a specific family or personal name. A primary example of this, currently in the private London collection of David Giles bears the inscription FUCENI SEMPER VERAX, ‘the Fuchini are always truthful’ (Christie’s 1999, p. 86 no. 222).

Gold glass number **49** constitutes the only example of a gilt-glass trail inscription sandwich-glass in the British Museum collection. Illustrated in Figure 18 in Chapter Three below, the piece takes the form of a vessel base, and retains most of a cartouche containing a two-line inscription. The cartouche is rectangular, with waves upon the upper and right side. We can reasonably postulate matching waves having also been present upon the left side; however, this portion of the glass has been broken away. The bottom edge of the cartouche is underlined by a single trail of blue glass. The central area is divided into two, bearing the inscription ANNI/BONI, translated as the generic phrase ‘happy new year’ (Filippini 1995, p. 118). All of the gilt glass trail glasses known to me, the majority catalogued by Filippini, bear single inscriptions (Filippini 1995, pp. 118-125). Gilt glass trail inscriptions in every instance are generic ‘cheers of antique convivial tradition’ (Filippini 1995, p. 118), wishing a happy new year (ANNI/BONI), such as the British Museum piece, and also a long and happy life (VITA/TIBI), or the encouraging the drinking of a toast to someone (A ME/BIBE).

### **Overview and discussion of the general iconographic trends observable in gold glass as illustrated by the British Museum collection**

The iconography of the British Museum collection of gold glass relates closely to the larger corpuses published by Morey and Garrucci. As such, the general trends observed

in the British Museum collection are largely applicable to the medium as a whole. Akin to the single example present in the collection (**44**), brushed technique gold glass medallions believed to be genuine beyond any reasonable doubt depict ‘portraits proper’ set within a thin perfectly circular single line frame given prominence by a translucent blue-glass backing. The subjects appear as half or quarter-length busts, and constitute either a single man, or a woman with one or more children. The facial features of each of the figures are highly naturalistic and individualised, probably constituting a true likeness of the intended subject. The costume worn by each figure, however, appears to be far more standardized.

Cut and incised technique gold glasses taking the form of vessel bases, diminutive medallions and gilded-glass plaques, all adhere to the same set of broad iconographic trends, regardless of the specific subject depicted. Rather than only depicting Christian images or images with distinctly Christian associations, a far wider range of subjects including distinctly Jewish, pagan and secular scenes are frequently represented in gold glass. Where the portrait-style depictions of both secular people (with associated Christian or pagan attributes) and saints are illustrated, they most frequently take the form of standardized interchangeable stock elements, used time and time again in the representation of individuals, pairs and groups. The portrait-style depictions of secular people and saints, biblical episodic imagery and other miscellaneous subjects (also largely composed of interchangeable stock elements) including Jewish iconography and pagan and secular scenes can in almost every instance paralleled very closely in other contemporary media. However, it is notable that only a narrow range of ways is used to represent a specific person, event or subject. Often subjects are restricted to only one specific representation, appearing identically on both vessel bases and diminutive medallions, in contrast to the large and varied vocabulary of types observable in other contemporary media from Rome.

Where they occur, inscriptions on gold glass predominantly take the form of generic assertions of virtue, wishes for life and good health and common drinking toasts. The most common inscriptions on cut and incised technique gold glasses frequently include the phrase *DIGNITAS AMICORVM* (e.g. on number **20**), translated by different authors as ‘a mark of friendship’, ‘here’s to our friendship’ (Northcote & Brownlow 1879, vol. 2,

p 308 & fn. 1), or, as adopted in this thesis, 'the pride of your friends' (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 285; Whitehouse 2002, p. 249). They also include DULCIS ANIMA (e.g. on number 45), translated as 'sweet-heart' (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 282) and VIVAS/VIVATIS or BIBATIS, meaning live and drink respectively, and according to Cameron, understood in both senses (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 298). VIVAS IN DEO (e.g. on number 4), translated as 'live in god' also occasionally appears. By far the most common individual phrase occurring on the vast majority of cut and incised gold glass is the Latinised Greek drinking toast PIE ZESES (ΠΙΕ ΖΗΣΗΣ), meaning 'drink that you may live' (Dalton 1921, p. 142). The phrase also appears on a large variety of other contemporary media (Auth 1995, p. 103; Alan Cameron 1996, p. 298, fn. 20).

When the portrait-style depictions of secular people are illustrated in cut and incised gold glass, the personal names of those depicted are often, but not exclusively, included in conjunction with one or more of the above generic phrases as part of a single inscription. The person or persons depicted are thus specifically invoked in the generic wishes for life and good health. Where saints are depicted, they are often accompanied by identifying name labels; however, these occur separately from any longer generic inscription comprised of one or a combination of the above phrases on the object. The same range of generic inscriptions, predominantly wishes for life and health accompany both images in gold glass depicting Biblical episodes and other miscellaneous subjects including Jewish iconography and pagan and secular scenes. The subjects of the depictions, however, are never identified. Unlike those on glasses depicting secular people, the generic wishes for life and health present on gold glasses depicting saints, Biblical episodes and other miscellaneous subjects appear instead to relate to the owner of the glass and not the subject depicted. Gold glasses with inscription as the sole subject of the iconography also largely follow the same pattern as those accompanying various images. On cut and incised gold glasses, the same narrow set of standardized phrases repeatedly occurs regardless of the subject depicted, suggesting that a small number of craftsmen were responsible for production.

More than sixty secular individuals are named on gold glasses published in the large corpuses of Morey and Garrucci. The only two known people from the fourth century

to appear on the medium, however, both occur within the British Museum collection. The Orfitus example (19), probably representing Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus has been argued above on the basis of its inscription as a gift made to the aristocrat and his wife on behalf of a small town. The piece probably depicting Flavius Amachius (14), governor of Phrygia, is furthermore argued above and in more detail in Chapters 9 and 10 to be an example of a contemporary pagan 'saint', commissioned not by the man himself, but by someone who supported his policies. Other secular names on gold glass, including Tzucinvs (27), Severus (or Severa), Cosmaslea, and their daughter Lea (21), Pompeianus and Theodora (23), Biculius (20) and Fortunius (52) in the British Museum collection cannot be reasonably identified with any known person in the fourth century. This again suggests that whilst cut and incised technique gold glass may well have been an expensive medium, it was certainly not aristocratic in value.

The iconography of cut and incised gold glass is distinctly Roman in nature. It relates directly to the artistic language and trends of popular religious thought prevalent in late fourth-century Rome. Where secular people are depicted, they are invariably dressed in the manner stereotypical of men and woman from Rome rather than elsewhere in the empire. Likewise, almost every saint and martyr depicted in gold glass is specifically associated with the city, and in almost every example is known to have had a popular cult in Rome in the late fourth-century. Based on the iconography alone, cut and incised technique gold glass was most probably an expensive though not aristocratic medium produced in Rome itself in the late fourth century by a small number of craftsmen. The following chapter moves on to provide an integrated discussion of gold glass workshop identity, distribution, context and chronology.



## **Chapter 9: Workshop identity, distribution and context, and the date of Late Antique gold glass**

The majority of published work on gold glass carried out by scholars from the sixteenth century up to and including the present day have included comment on the distribution and context, possible identity of workshops, and chronology of Late Antique gold glass. In almost every case, however, scholars have repeated the same set of theories that have been in circulation since at least the mid nineteenth-century and that were summarised by Vopel in 1899. This chapter presents the first in-depth discussion of gold glass distribution and context since Vopel's monograph in 1899, which is greatly expanded upon. It then continues to provide a new and integrated analysis of gold glass workshop identity followed by an analysis of gold glass chronology, until now assigned very broadly to the fourth century. Gold glass chronology is discussed in relation to pieces where the original contexts have been recorded as well as the repertoire of images and inscriptions exemplified in the medium discussed above in Chapters 6 to 8. The conclusions drawn regarding workshop identity are also taken into account. The final section presents a summary and discussion of the general conclusions drawn in this chapter.

### **Distribution and context**

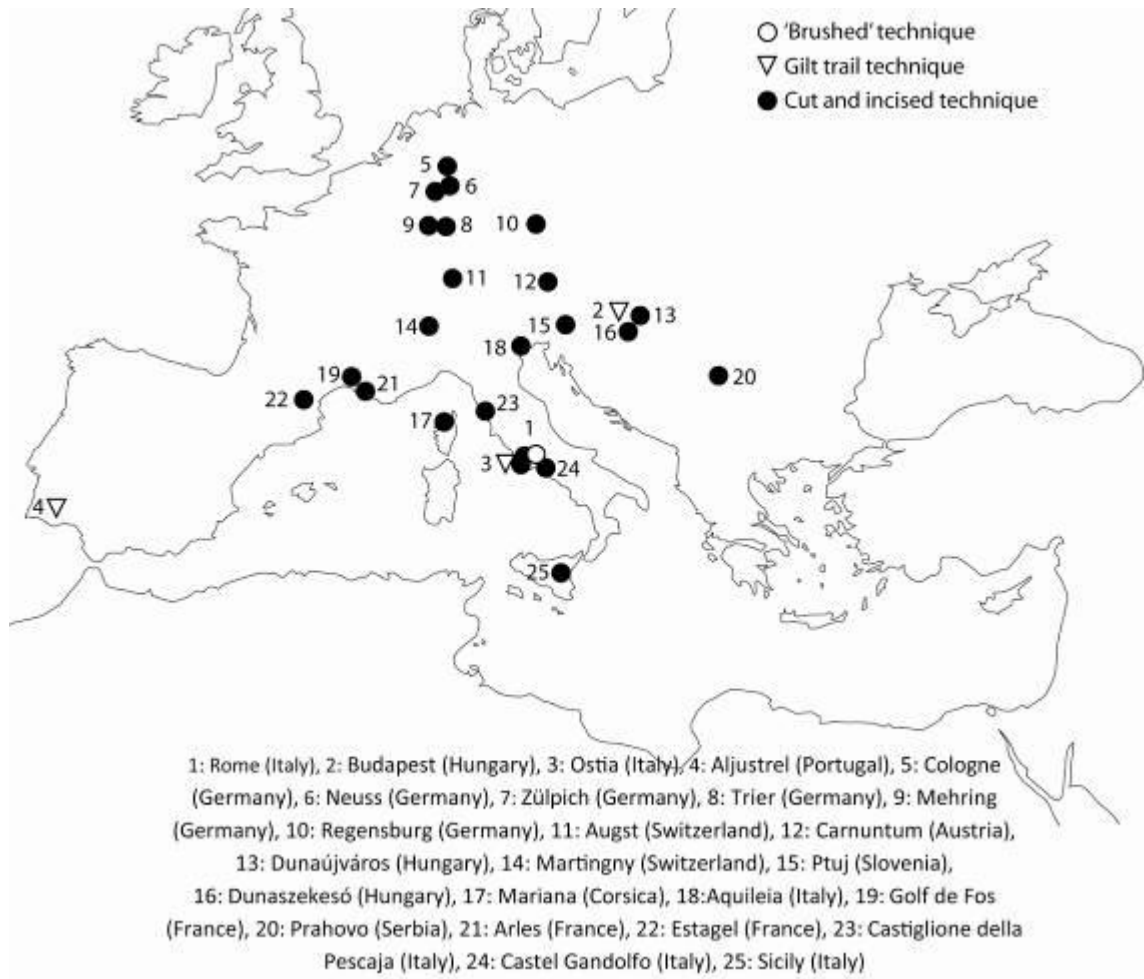
As has already been highlighted in Chapter one, gold glass was primarily of interest to the early antiquarians because of its iconography. Deemed comparatively unimportant, the find spots of gold glasses were therefore very rarely recorded. In the majority of early publications, if an allusion to the find spot is made at all, it is simply stated that the gold glass came 'from a catacomb', in the vicinity of Rome. In some instances the name of the catacomb has been recorded; however, no details relating to precise location, situation and associated objects are usually preserved. Prior to the 1860s, it was generally stated in all major discussions of the medium that gold glass was a phenomenon exclusive to Rome and most notably the catacombs (Buonarruoti 1716; Boldetti 1720, pp. 191-217; Garrucci 1858; Wiseman 1859, p. 178), where they

were found embedded into the plaster sealing individual loculi (tomb niches). In 1864, however, Aus'm Weerth (and others including Bone in 1886 and Düntzer in 1867) published a series of articles detailing a number of gold glasses found during excavations, principally of burial sites, in Cologne and the Rhine valley (Aus'm Weerth 1864; 1878; 1881). In 1899, Vopel's chapter on gold glass context and distribution identified several fragmentary examples predominantly from funerary monuments other than the catacombs, all in the immediate vicinity of Rome (Vopel 1899, pp. nos. 20, 51, 281, 288, 366).

What little that is recorded regarding the find-spots of gold glasses in the British Museum collection indicates that they too are likely to have been retrieved from the environs of Rome and Cologne. The gold glasses from the Bunsen collection (nos. **1-10**) are accompanied by documentation specifically stating that they were recovered at Rome 'from a catacomb' (British Museum correspondence register: June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1854). The catacomb in question, however, is not identified. The collection history of the British Museum gold glasses detailed in Chapter Two strongly suggests certainly an Italian provenance, but in most cases, more specifically purchase, and thus by extension find-spots in the city of Rome itself for the vast majority of pieces which lack find-spot details. It is likely that the British Museum gold glasses with a Roman provenance were themselves also removed from the catacombs where the majority of gold glasses at the time were being discovered and sold on as the result of uncontrolled exploration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Only two gold glasses in the British Museum collection have secure find-spots, both from excavations in Cologne itself. The object known as the St Ursula bowl (no. **36**) was recovered from a stone cist containing the burnt bones of an adult female in the area of the city known as the Ursulagartenstrasse accompanied by a few small objects of glass and jet (Düntzer 1867, p. 132; Franks & Nesbitt 1871, pp. 50-2). The St Severin bowl (no. **39**) was found deposited in an unspecified burial as an incomplete vessel in a cemetery in the quarter of St Severinus' church (Aus'm Weerth 1864, p. 124-5; Dalton 1901b, p. 127). In both cases, the burials themselves were attributed to the fourth century on the basis of the gold glass found within them. The burials cannot be dated securely, however, and the gold glass may well have been a treasured family heirloom

when it was deposited. As such, the burials might potentially be of a later date, but it is just not possible to draw any accurate conclusion.



**Figure 74.** Distribution map of gold glass find spots (compiled from published sources in the course of the research for this thesis).

In the absence of any detailed archaeological study since that of Vopel, very recent scholarship continues to state that gold glass has been exclusively found in the immediate vicinity of Rome (primarily in the catacombs) and from Cologne and its environs (e.g. *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, pp. 263-8). This is in error. An updated distribution of all recorded instances of gold glass from each sub-type identified in Chapter Three is presented here in Figure 74. The map draws on data from the preliminary list of find-spots compiled, but unpublished, by Smith (Smith 2000, pp. 338-376), noting eight find-spot localities (Figure 74 map references: 1, 3, 5, 10, 19, 20, 21, 25), and a further nineteen find spots plotted as the result of a detailed literature review carried out as part of this project. Glasses have been included regardless of

whether their reported find spot occurs in the accounts of early antiquarians or from the publications of more rigorously controlled archaeological excavation and subterranean explorations. A detailed table of glasses with a recorded provenance including details of context and published references is presented in Appendix 2. Additional gold glasses from the localities noted by Smith but not included in her dataset are also included.

Gold glass 'brushed technique' portrait medallions are recorded as being recovered exclusively from the city of Rome and its immediate environs (Figure 74.1). A single example remains in situ embedded into the sealing loculi plaster in the catacomb of Panfilo (Morey 1959, p. 40, pl. XXIV, no. 222; Ladner 1941, pp. 19 & 36, fig. 5, no. 27; Mazzoleni 2002, p. 147, fig. 152). A second piece is recorded as having been removed from the plaster of a loculi in the Catacomb of Saint Callistus (Albizzati 1914, pp. 242-7). A third piece, identified with the example now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (inv. no. 1052-1868, illustrated in Figure 33 above), is with less conviction reported by Ficoroni in 1732 to have been excavated in the ruins of Monte Celio (Ficoroni 1732, p. 12), the Celio or Caelian Hill, one of the seven hills on which Rome was built. The specific 'ruins' are, however, not identified. The Caelian Hill was a socially exclusive district during the third and fourth centuries, populated with large villas and gardens owned by rich families such as the patrician antecedents of Pope Gregory the Great (Markus 1997, p. 8). If the description of provenance is not mistaken, it adds weight to the comparatively high value of brushed technique gold glass portrait medallions argued in Chapter Four. This is based, not on the material value of such objects, but rather upon the fee charged by an artist of such skill capable of producing the lifelike image.

The inscriptions present on brushed technique portrait medallions, where they occur, have been noted above as all being in the Alexandrian dialect of Greek. These inscriptions clearly indicate the Egyptian origin of the craftsmen, as does their affinity with the style of the Egyptian mummy portraits noted above in Chapter 5. A distribution restricted to Rome, however, further enhanced by the likelihood that pieces such as the British Museum example purchased in the city were actually found

there, would strongly suggest that production centred on Rome itself, perhaps by a very small number of craftsmen of Egyptian origin.

Gilt-glass trail vessels are not recorded securely as having been found in Rome. However, if we were to suggest the likely scenario that all or at least the vast majority of glasses without any recorded provenance in the Vatican Museum and other collections in the city of Rome were also found there, then we may attribute at least one to the city (held in the Vatican Campo Santo Teutonico, inv. no. F. 15; Morey 1959, p. 38, pl. XXIV, no. 203). In her short preliminary study of gilt-glass trail gold glass, Filippini suggested that the glasses formerly in the Sangiorgi, Morbio, Tyszkiewicz and Dutuit Collections (Filippini 1995, nos. 6-7, 9, 11) were also originally recovered from Rome on the bases of collecting history (Filippini 1995, pp. 113-128). Indicated by the upturned open triangles in Figure 74, a single gilt-glass trail gold glass vessel base fragment is reported by Filippini as having been 'found in Ostia' (Filippini 1995, p. 123, no. 10; Figure 78.4). A significant number of finds in the nearby city of Rome is thus certainly not improbable, and may further point to Rome being the place of manufacture.

Indicated in Figure 74 by the upturned white triangles, individual gilt-glass trail vessels are disparately recorded in Budapest and Aljustrel (Figure 74.2 & 4 respectively). Including the fragment from Ostia (Figure 74.3), the three recorded find spots would appear to suggest a wide pattern of distribution. Filippini further suggests that an example at Ptuj (Slovenia) was also found in that locality (Filippini 1995, p. 124, no. 13). More detailed context data is recorded for the two glasses from Aljustrel and Budapest, both of which have survived as complete vessels. That from Budapest, held in the Aquincumi Muzeum was excavated from the piping system of the Legate's Palace in the nearby Roman town of Aquincum (Kaba 1958, p. 438; Filippini 1995, p. 119, no. 3). The vessel from Aljustrel was recovered again through controlled archaeological excavation from an inhumation (grave 20) in what was interpreted by the excavator (Alarcão 1968) as a family cemetery associated with a nearby villa at Farrobo. Associated grave goods also part of the burial included unremarkable undecorated 'terra sigillata' and glass bottles. Despite the very limited context data available for gilt-glass trail inscription gold glasses, a status rather more than mundane,

but nevertheless far from aristocratic might thus be inferred in line with the conclusions drawn in Chapter Four. Indeed, the example from Aljustrel was certainly treasured enough to be included in a burial.

Indicated by the black circles in Figure 74, and contrary to the commonly stated find-spots restricted only to the environs of Rome and Cologne (Figure 74.1 & 5), cut and incised gold glasses are shown to have a very wide distribution. Multiple finds occur not only in Rome and Cologne but throughout Italy, southern Gaul, the Rhineland, and even the Balkans. Rome appears to be at the centre of the very wide distribution. Coupled with the exceedingly large numbers of gold glass recovered from the city discussed below, it seems likely that this was also the centre of manufacture. No instances of cut and incised technique gold glass have been reported in Britain, the Iberian peninsula, North Africa or the eastern empire. Nevertheless, the wide pattern of distribution indicated in Figure 74 would suggest that further finds of gold glass in these areas is indeed high. However, in line with the quantified data presented in Appendix 2, smaller numbers with an increased distance from Rome are to be expected.

The importance of Rome concerning cut and incised gold glasses is made clear when the pieces with a recorded provenance are examined proportionally by find-spot locality. Based on the data assembled in Appendix 2, far more examples, more than half of all cut and incised technique gold glasses with any record of provenance, have been recovered from Rome itself compared to other sites. Furthermore, given that only a fraction of known gold glasses have any provenance data, if we were to assume the highly likely scenario that every gold glass in city of Rome collections as well as those securely recorded as having been brought from Rome was in fact found in the city, the importance of Rome regarding cut and incised gold glass is again massively increased.

In Rome, and in accordance with what is most commonly stated in the scholarship of the recent past, the vast majority of cut and incised gold glass fragments have been recovered from funerary contexts within the catacombs. Detailed in full in Appendix 2, cut and incised gold glasses have been reported from the Roman catacombs of St

Agnes, Callistus, Commodilla, Domitilla, Hermes, Maximus, Peter and Marcellinus, Pontianus, and Priscilla. A number still remain in situ in the catacombs of Novatianus (for a detailed account of these see: Filippini 2000), and Panfilo (Morey 1959, p. 39-40, pl. XXIV, nos. 220-5). In each instance where details of context have been recorded, cut and incised gold glass vessels, individual diminutive medallions and plaques (a single example of the latter is published in: Morey 1959, p. 40, pl. XXIV, no. 224; still in situ in the catacomb of Novatianus, but not, however, documented by Filippini in 2000) have been reported as having been found inserted into the sealing loculi plaster when still wet.

Gold glasses have rarely been discussed in the context of other material also recovered from the catacombs. However, they were inserted into the walls in the same manner and often alongside other small and frequently mundane items such as coins, children's toys, statuettes, bracelets and small items of jewellery and even organic material such as leaves (Northcote & Brownlow 1879 vol. 2, pp. 266-329; Bisconti 2002, pp. 78-83). The general location recorded of gold glasses and other such adorning objects is not the lavishly painted galleries for which the catacombs have become best known, but in the areas lined with small and otherwise undecorated individual loculi. Although little systematic work has been carried out regarding the social status of those buried in the catacombs, they certainly included modest persons such as grocers and weavers, as well as the rather more distinguished strata of contemporary society (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 299; Ferrua 1990, pp. 18 & 156). Combined with the contextual association of gold glass with other objects of very little or no value, this may further indicate a less than aristocratic market for cut and incised gold glasses in Late Antiquity. Nevertheless, as noted in Chapter Four, gold glasses may still have been considered very expensive relative to the pockets of contemporary tradesmen and craftspeople.

In his brief study of gold glass context within the catacombs, Vopel, followed recently by 'Glass of the Caesars', stated that in each instance, cut and incised technique gold glasses were inserted into the catacomb walls as complete outward-facing vessels. The vessel walls had been broken away, he argued, over the course of time by the passage of bodies along the narrow underground galleries so that only the vessel bases, as the

majority exist today, were retained (Vopel 1899; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 266). Vopel's hypothesis that gold glasses were inserted into the plaster as complete vessels is certainly supported by the presence of a small number of almost complete outward-facing vessels, one of which is still embedded in plaster of the wall from which it was removed in the Vatican Museum (e.g. inv. no. 621 (ex-763); Morey 1959, p. 5, pl. II, no. 11). Indeed, Boldetti has already been noted above as reporting to have found a number of complete cut and incised technique gold glasses vessels inserted into the plaster of the catacomb walls (Boldetti, 1720, p. 91-2; Figure 9 above).

Vopel's statement cannot, however, be universally applied to every cut and incised gold glass vessel recovered from the catacombs. It is extremely unlikely that the walls of gold glasses fixed into the plaster as complete vessels were broken away by passers-by, as they would not have protruded very far from the walls. Furthermore, in the Vatican Museum collection, Morey illustrates a single gold glass vessel, inserted face-down into the plaster of the catacomb from which it was removed, the iconography being visible in reverse through the colourless base layer of the vessel. The piece is broken, but nevertheless retains a significant portion of its vessel wall. That it has been inserted face down in the plaster, however, indicates that the object was originally embedded into the wall as a broken but not closely trimmed vessel (Morey 1959, p. 24-5, pl. XVII, no. 103; inv. no. 623 (ex-2110); see also: Filippini 2000, p. 127-8, no. 2).

Other pieces were certainly inserted into the catacomb wall plaster as closely trimmed vessel bases, however. In a number of instances, these have been sunken into the wet wall plaster so that the trimmed edges of the base disc have been in part covered by it (e.g. Vatican Museum inv. no. 619 (ex-771); Morey 1959, p. 17, pl. XI, no. 68), demonstrating that the object was indeed closely trimmed in antiquity and not at a later date by subsequent antiquarians and collectors, discussed above in Chapter Three. Like many cut and incised technique gold glass vessels, individual diminutive medallions have also been recorded as having been inserted into the walls of the catacombs. This indicates that although the complete diminutive medallion studded vessel had been broken, at least some of the individual medallions had nonetheless been retained prior to their deposition (Morey 1959, p. 51, pl. XXVIII, no. 294).



Contrary to the majority of published scholarly overviews, elsewhere in Rome instances of cut and incised gold glass have been recovered from contexts, again predominantly funerary in nature, other than in the catacombs (detailed in Appendix 2). Individual diminutive medallions have been reportedly excavated from a tomb on the Via Portuensis (Smith 2000, p. 374, no. 75; Vopel 1899, no. 281) and, according to Garrucci (1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 144, pl. 178.12) in the garden of the Church of Saint Eusebius. Cut and incised vessel base fragments have been recorded on the Palatine Hill 'close to the so called stadium' (although the exact context is not reported; Vopel 1899, no. 366), and from a tomb on the Via Appia (Smith 2000, pp. 375-6, no. 79; Vopel 1899, no. 20). Outside Rome, funerary contexts, most often taking the form of individual inhumations, again prevail. Gold glass fragments occurring in burials are sometimes accompanied by other associated grave goods, including individual coins (e.g. at Castel Gandolfo; Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 142; Vopel 1899, no. 267) and other small items (full details associated with each example of gold glass are provided in Appendix 2).

With the possible exception of the gilt-glass plaque known as the St Ursula bowl (number **36** in the British Museum collection), every example of gold glass known to me from burial contexts other than the Roman catacombs was deposited as broken fragments, and not complete vessels. Only about three-quarters of the diminutive medallion studded vessel in the British Museum collection known as the St Severin bowl (**39**) was deposited with the burial in which it was found. With the exception of a single diminutive medallion now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn (inv. no. AI39) and a very small fragment of vessel wall discussed above in Chapter Three and illustrated in Figure 15, the St Severin bowl was deposited almost exactly in the fragmentary form it appears today in the British Museum collection.

In the majority of other burials, only individual diminutive medallions from much larger vessels were included (e.g. Vopel 1899, nos. 281 & 288, both from the environs of Rome). Cut and incised technique sandwich glass vessels predominantly appear to have been deposited as vessel bases closely trimmed in antiquity, such as that from Arles, found in a stone urn in the cemetery of Les Alyscamps (Figure 74.21; De Rossi 1877, vol. 3, p. 172), and also from an inhumation burial and a tomb at Dunaújváros

and Dunaszekesó respectively (Figure 74. 13 & 16; Fülep 1968 pp. 401 & 404). Gold glass vessels carefully reduced to their decorated base-discs in antiquity prior to their deposition either in the catacombs (e.g. Vatican Museum inv. no. 619 (ex-771); Morey 1959, p. 17, pl. XI, no. 68) or other burials (e.g. that noted above from Arles, full details of context are provided in Appendix 2) may also have been trimmed prior their eventual deposition. Whether carried out after the accidental breakage of the vessel, or as a deliberate act, the reduction of the vessel to its decorated base-disc would have enabled the image, almost certainly the source of the object's value to its owner, to have been a personal and easily transportable medallion.

This is certain to be the case with regard to a small broken vessel base fragment deposited with the inhumation of an adult male from the Visigoth cemetery at Estagel in southern France (Figure 74.22). The small fragment depicts a single figure constituting a saint from what was originally part of a circular border of standing saints surrounding a central bust, akin to number **29** in the British Museum collection illustrated above in Figure 45. The iconography of the fragment is barely legible, and can only be identified when compared closely with similar images in more complete gold glass vessel bases. Indeed, the depiction has been misinterpreted in both of the comparatively recent exhibition catalogues to include the fragment (Landes 1988, pp. 195-6, no. 31; Foy & Nenna 2001, p. 219-20, no. 400). It was excavated contained inside a small leather purse accompanying the burial. As such, even as a small fragment, it was obviously treasured enough by its owner, who, being a non-Roman, may have obtained the piece as a small fragment, to be kept in his purse and eventually deposited as a grave good.

Further to this, one particular diminutive medallion, now in the Vatican Museum (inv. no. 672 (ex-481); Morey 1959, p. 31-2, pl. XXI, no. 150; Zanchi Roppo 1969, no. 126, fig. 34) was certainly broken from a larger vessel but nevertheless retained by its owner perhaps some considerable time before its insertion into the wall of the catacomb of Priscilla (Appendix 2). Paralleled near identically in gold glass number **10** in the British Museum collection (illustrated in Appendix 1), the medallion depicts a single element from the sequence depicting Daniel slaying the dragon of Babylon. It was recovered inserted into the sealing loculi plaster in the catacomb of Priscilla set in

a bronze ring with an eyelet for suspension as a pendent necklace, clearly indicating that it was still of value to its owner who converted it into a piece of jewellery for wear even after the original vessel had been broken and the other elements of the episode it depicts had been lost.

### **Gold glass workshop identity**

Prior to the middle of the twentieth century, it was assumed that gold glasses with pagan, Jewish and Christian subjects must have been the products of distinctly separate workshops organized on the basis of religious affiliation of the craftsmen (e.g. Wiseman 1858, p. 185; Dalton 1901a, p. 246). The large corpus of gold glass published by Morey in 1959 led to renewed discussion regarding workshop identity, this time based largely on the division of the corpus into groups of objects sharing perceived stylistic trends. Although his untimely death prevented the inclusion of a full discussion of workshop identity in the published catalogue, Morey himself tentatively identified several 'ateliers', variably based on technique and stylistic traits. 'Brushed technique' medallions were assigned to one single atelier by Morey. Cut and incised technique gold glass vessel bases were divided into separate workshop ateliers largely on the bases of their border type and other stylistic details. Importantly, however, gold glasses with Christian, Jewish and pagan iconography were for the first time assigned by Morey to the same 'atelier' or perceived workshop group.

In 1968/1969, Engemann pointed out some of the flaws in the workshop groups gleaned from the collection of notes included in Morey's manuscript, notably stylistic traits shared between glasses with different borders, but did not offer his own subdivision. Followed by Rutgers (Rutgers 1995, p. 83), he did, however, isolate a distinct group of gold glasses with Jewish and with Christian iconography which he regarded as the product of the same workshop on the basis of individual stylistic details which again including border type (Engemann 1968/1969, pp. 16-22). Further more detailed discussions of gold glass workshop identity based on the perceived stylistic traits, including the treatment of small details such as the rendering of facial

features and folds in costume, were published by Zanchi Roppo (1967; 1969), Faedo (1978) and most recently by Nüsse (2008).

The studies of Zanchi Roppo and Faedo, like Morey, assigned 'brushed technique' medallions to a single workshop. Followed again by the similar study of Nüsse as recently as 2008, they did, however, each identify a larger number of far smaller workshop groups relating to cut and incised technique gold glasses than Morey, despite only including examples with distinctly Christian iconography in their respective studies. Importantly, Zanchi Roppo and Nüsse for the first time assigned cut and incised gold glass vessel bases and diminutive medallions to common workshops, interpreting both vessel bases and diminutive medallion studded vessels to be the product of the same craftsmen. The highly speculative identification of separate gold glass workshops on the basis of perceived stylistic traits by Morey, Engemann, Zanchi Roppo, Faedo and Nüsse was in each instance based on the same corpus of illustrations, the black and white photographs presented in Morey's catalogue. Despite the shared dataset, however, no definitive set of individual gold glass workshop groups was universally agreed on by any of them.

The attribution of all brushed technique portrait medallions to a single workshop group by both Morey and Zanchi Roppo does at least appear to be logical. Gold glasses of this type, argued below to predate cut and incised technique gold glasses by more than a generation, form a concise group identical in both morphology and technique. Further to this, each genuine example known to me conforms to the same stylistic conventions, set within a thin perfectly circular single-line border and constituting a highly individualised facial portrait of one or more individuals upon a lifelike but nonetheless generic bust. Where inscription does occur, it has also been noted above to have been executed exclusively in the Alexandrian dialect of Egyptian Greek, perhaps suggesting that they were all produced by craftsmen of Egyptian origin. Again argued below as being earlier than cut and incised gold glasses, gilt-glass trail vessels constitute another concise group of typologically akin objects each bearing stylistically similar cartouches containing a brief convivial inscription set across two lines above a single trail of coloured glass. Although not specifically discussed by any author in the

context of workshop identity, it thus seems probable that gilt-glass trail gold glasses were also the product of a single workshop.

Akin to Morey's initial categorization of cut and incised gold glasses, it seems certain that examples with explicitly Christian, Jewish and pagan iconography were nonetheless produced within the same workshop and probably even by the same craftsmen. In the British Museum collection alone, the gold glass vessel bases number **19** (Figure 38), including a diminutive depiction of Hercules and a distinctly pagan inscription, number **20** (Figure 47), depicting the labelled portrait busts of Christian saints Peter and Paul, and number **26** (Figure 69), displaying unequivocally Jewish symbolism all feature a wide double-band inscription-enclosed border. Based, like all of the preceding studies since the publication of Morey's catalogue, on purely stylistic trends, these three gold glass vessel bases with pagan, Christian and Jewish iconographic affiliations respectively might be clearly assigned to the same 'atelier'. Indeed, that Late Antique artistic production was not separated into religiously delineated areas has already been clearly established for other contemporary media (Ward-Perkins 1978; Rutgers 1995, p. 92-99; Elsner 2003b).

Highlighted in Chapters 6 to 8, gold glasses produced in the cut and incised technique, regardless of whether they constitute vessel bases, diminutive medallions or gilt-glass plaques, all share a broad set of general iconographic trends. In every instance of cut and incised gold glass, over-painted enamel is used, if at all, in small quantities only to highlight areas of costume with largely idealised connotations of wealth and status. Furthermore, despite slight stylistic differences between glasses, the same narrow range of 'types', often restricted to only one specific representation, are employed in order to represent specific subjects such as secular people, saints and biblical episodes. In addition, the same narrow range of border types also feature on every gold glass known to me. This is in direct contrast to the large and varied number of ways employed for the depiction of the same subject observable in other contemporary media from Rome. Where inscriptions do appear, they are again restricted to a narrow range of different generic phrases, and occur throughout the corpuses of published cut and incised technique gold glasses regardless of the iconographic subject matter and the stylistic traits observable in the image.

In the light of a shared method of basic production, it thus seems logical that gold glasses produced in the cut and incised technique, regardless of whether they constitute vessel bases, diminutive medallions or gilt-glass plaques, are all the product of a single workshop. Such a workshop is likely to have included a number of different glassworkers and craftsmen, and include a number of different individuals responsible for producing cut and incised gold leaf designs. A small group of craftsmen all producing separate gold glasses but based on the same set of pre-prepared pattern-books and general iconographic trends would unavoidably apply the stylistic traits of their own hand to their rendition of the same basic image. It thus appears far more plausible that the past attempts at cut and incised technique gold glass workshop attribution by Morey, Engemann, Zanchi Roppo, Faedo and Nüsse identified groups of glasses produced by the same hand in a single workshop, rather than multiple separate workshops.

The object known as the 'Disch Kantharos' in the Corning Museum of Glass (inv. no. 66.1.267; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, pp. 253-4, no. 143; Whitehouse 2001, pp. 275-7, no. 867) also incorporates the cut and incised technique of gold leaf incision. The piece was originally one of a pair; however, the other, known as the 'Schloss-Goluchow Kantharos' has unfortunately been lost (Froehner 1899, p. 164, no. 155, pls. 21-2; Fremersdorf 1967, p. 201, pl. 282). Both were recovered from burials in Cologne, the Disch Kantharos from Ursulagartenstrasse, noted in Appendix 2 as the find-spot of a number of other gold glasses, most notably the St Ursula bowl in the British Museum collection (36). The two gold glass Kantharoi take the form conical cups with unprotected gilding applied to the walls on a stem with a hollow foot. Each is surrounded by an applied cage of glass trails. Not identified in any of the past literature, a gilt-glass fragment decorated with Jewish imagery in the Vatican Museum probably constitutes part of the conical cup of a third now broken kantharos (Morey 1959, p. 27, pl. XX, no. 115; Schüller 1966, p. 59, no. 1, fig. 17). Although constituting a skilled example of glass-working applied cage cups of this sort are much quicker and easier to produce than contemporary cut and polished examples (e.g. *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, nos. 134-77). They have thus been dubbed the 'poor man's cage cup' ('Romanglassmakers' Mark Taylor and David Hill, pers. comm. May 2009).

The cut and incised gold leaf designs on each Kantharos depict winged cupids, and are paralleled closely on a small number of cut and incised technique gold glass vessel bases (e.g. Morey 1959, nos. 15 & 111; Garrucci 1858, pl. XXV.4-7). Based on the shared technique of gold leaf incision, the iconographic parallels and the contextual association of the Disch and Schloss-Goluchow Kantharoi with other cut and incised technique gold glasses, it is logical to attribute these two vessels to the same single Roman workshop responsible for the production of other cut and incised technique gold glasses. On this basis, a series of gold glass plaques found at Neuss in Germany, identified as adorning the lid and sides of a wooden casket, but which have now, unfortunately been lost, should also be attributed to this same workshop. Illustrated by Fremersdorf, each of the rectangular plaques were produced in the cut and incised technique and depict Christian subjects paralleled precisely in more common cut and incised technique gold glass vessels (Fremersdorf 1967, p. 201, pl. 282).

Aware only of find-spots in Rome and a considerable distance away in Cologne, a second gold glass producing workshop operating quite distinctly from that in Rome has been identified by some scholars at Cologne, already known to be the site of a major late Roman glassworks (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, pp. 263-5; Kisa 1908, pp. 868, 877 & 880; and most notably Fremersdorf 1967, p. 217). In terms of both style and technique, however, the vast majority of the so called Rhenish group of gold glasses are identical to the cut and incised technique pieces also found in Rome. Furthermore, the updated distribution map of cut and incised gold glasses produced as a result of this research presented in Figure 74 and discussed above indicates that gold glass is recorded throughout the western empire. The production of gold glass in the region of Cologne in a separate workshop is thus highly unlikely. Indeed, Harden noted Fremersdorf's tendency to over emphasise the importance of Cologne in the production of various glass forms and types in his review of study and research on ancient glass (Harden 1984, p. 11).

Instead, cut and incised technique gold glasses are likely to have been dispersed from a single workshop in the environs of Rome, discussed under the following sub-heading as where the vast majority of gold glass has been recovered from. Gold glass workshop attribution should ultimately be viewed in relation to overall technique, rather than on

the basis of perceived minor stylistic differences between glasses. All identified below as being chronologically distinct, three separate workshops producing gold glass in Late Antiquity can thus be envisaged labelled as the brushed technique, gilt-glass trail technique and the cut and incised technique ateliers.

### **The date of Late Antique gold glass**

The majority of attempts to place gold glass in a chronological framework have been based largely on the repertoire of illustrated subject matter and inscriptions known to each respective author, and in turn, their own relative understanding of the dates of these images and stylistic traits. In 1716, Buonarruoti, for example, dated the medium to the later third century, up to and during the persecutions of Diocletian (Buonarruoti 1716). This was based not only on his interpretation of the images depicted, but also the recognition of third century martyrs such as St Laurence (d. 258 AD) and others martyred during the persecutions of Diocletian including St Agnes (d. 304 AD). Garrucci, again largely based on his understanding of iconographic style and the orthography of the inscriptions, however, instead dated gold glass to the fourth century. This was supported by his identification of Pope Damasus (d. 384) depicted on several glasses including number **13** in the British Museum collection (Garrucci 1864, pp. 142-6).

In 1899, Vopel, followed by Dalton posed a general fourth-century date for gold glass (Vopel 1899, pp. 17-32; Dalton 1901a, p. 229-234). Vopel's chronology was once again based largely upon iconographic style and the orthography of the inscriptions; however, it also took into account the little contextual data that was available. In his summary of Vopel's work, Dalton noted that no gold glasses were known to have been discovered in the older catacombs belonging to the first two centuries (Dalton 1901a, p. 230). This provided negative evidence that gold glasses were likely to have been produced no earlier than the third century. Equally, De Rossi had stated that the catacombs, where the majority of gold glasses had been found, ceased to be used after 410 AD. This was thus interpreted by Dalton as a 'terminus ante quem' before which the majority of gold glasses should be dated (Dalton 1901a, p. 233). Vopel also noted,



however, an elusive 'as yet unpublished' gold glass bearing the inscription JVSTINIANVS SEMPER AVG, relating to the sixth-century emperor Justinian. Based on this fragment, Vopel suggested that gold glass production, whilst most prevalent in the fourth century, nonetheless continued into the sixth (Vopel 1899, p. 32).

Within this time-frame and based upon their perceived understanding of the development of Christianity during this period, both Vopel and Dalton dated gold glasses with pagan iconography to the very late third- and early fourth-centuries. Examples with signs of Christianity, albeit not explicit, such as the 'Good Shepherd' were attributed a slightly later date, whilst glasses with explicitly Christian images they dated to the later fourth century when the Christian religion was known by the authors to really have taken hold (Dalton 1901a, p. 234). The gold glasses known to both Vopel and Dalton were interpreted by them as adhering closely to the nineteenth-century perception that the 'quality' of artistic production in the late Roman world deteriorated over the course of time. Dalton noted that gold glasses with pagan iconography were the best executed, and that the quality of iconography deteriorated over the course of time with explicitly Christian glasses bearing the 'traces of whole-sale production' (Dalton 1901a p. 234), and as such were of a later date.

A general date for gold glass spanning the length of the fourth century based principally on the evidence presented by Vopel and Dalton has been accepted and frequently repeated almost verbatim up until the present day. Indeed, Vopel's account of gold glass chronology is still considered to be the most complete (e.g. by Auth 1979, p. 37). Following Vopel, both Kisa and Zanchi Roppo both cite the gold glass noted above reportedly bearing an inscription to the sixth-century emperor Justinian in order to justify a date for gold glass extending beyond the fourth century (Vopel 1899, p. 32; Kisa 1908, vol. 3, p. 864; Zanchi Roppo 1967, p. 20). However, as Auth rightly noted in 1979, the gold glass in question has not been seen since Vopel's report in 1899, and furthermore is not included in any publications prior to it (Auth 1979, p. 37, fn. 19). The piece should thus be discounted from the evidence which otherwise all points to the fourth century.

From the notes published with Morey's catalogue in 1959, it is clear that like Dalton, Morey appears to have considered gold glasses executed to a perceived higher standard of competence to date to the later third and early fourth centuries. On this basis, Morey thus appears to have preferred an early date for 'brushed technique' medallions, whilst those of the cut and incised technique he places throughout the fourth-century on the basis of style, and regardless of whether the subjects depicted were pagan or Christian. Zanchi-Roppo dated gold glasses variously to the later third and fourth centuries on the basis of hair style (Zanchi Roppo 1967; 1969). In a medium demonstrated in Chapters 6-8 in this thesis as being very generic in nature, however, Cameron is correct to state that this method of dating is not very secure (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 300, fn. 43).

Not incorporated into discussions of gold glass chronology by any previous author, gilt-glass trail vessels may only be dated tentatively on the basis of context. Noted above (see also Appendix 2), only two pieces have been recovered from controlled excavation. The piece from Aquincum (Figure 74.2) was context dated to the late third and early fourth century (Kaba 1958, p. 438), whilst that from Aljustrel (Figure 74.4) was dated by contextual association *ante quem* 240-260 AD (Alarcão 1968, p. 79). Discussed in Chapter Three, that the only gilt-glass trail technique glass in the British Museum collection is decoloured with antimony, principally used in the third century prior to being superseded by manganese in the fourth may also be cited in support of an earlier date. However, it is unfortunate that samples from more glasses of these two types held in other museum collections have not been analysed. Gilt-glass trail vessels have been argued above as the product of a single workshop. As such, in the absence of further data, a concise date-range somewhere between the mid third to early fourth-century date appears to be most likely for this gold glass sub-type.

Suggested above as being the product of a single workshop, a concise late third- to early fourth-century date, advocated as such by both Morey and Zanchi Roppo, also appears logical in relation to brushed technique portrait medallions. The medallions are noted as being stylistically very similar to the panel-painted mummy portraits from the Fayum Oasis in Egypt dated to the third and very early fourth centuries AD (Fleischer 2001, p. 54). Furthermore, the 'collegia iuvenum' standard present upon the

British Museum example (44; illustrated in Figure 34) can be paralleled with other similar standards all dated to the late third and early fourth centuries (Arce 1984, p. 36). That the only gold glass brushed technique medallion in the British Museum collection is decoloured with antimony, principally used in the third century prior to being superseded by manganese in the fourth may again be cited in support of an earlier date. It is unfortunate however, that again no compositional data has been published for any other gold glasses in this sub-type. The brushed technique medallion noted above as still being in situ in the catacomb of Panfilo (Morey 1959, p. 40, pl. XXIV, no. 222; Ladner 1941, pp. 19 & 36, fig. 5, no. 27; Mazzoleni 2002, p. 147, fig. 152) further implies a fourth-century date. However, the piece may well have been deposited in the catacombs quite some time after its initial manufacture. It is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

The survey of gold glass context and contextual association presented above is not very informative with regard to the dating of cut and incised technique gold glasses. Like those from the catacombs summarized by Vopel and Dalton, only a very broad fourth-century date can be attributed to pieces recovered during excavations carried out in the course of the last century (see Appendix 2). A single cut and incised gold glass fragment, reported from an inhumation burial at Castel Gandolfo (Figure 74.24) was found accompanied by a single coin of Heliogabalus (218-222 AD) next to the deceased (Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 142, pl. 177.9; Vopel 1899, no. 267). The collection of often very old coins by individuals in Late Antiquity is attested throughout the period, however, and is exemplified by an assemblage of coins of different emperors embedded into the sealing plaster of a single loculus in the catacomb of Panfilo in Rome (Toynbee 1944, pp. 120-1). Like ancient coin collecting today, old coins were apparently of significant personal value to those that collected them, and thus would have been deemed as a suitable grave good. As such, the dating suggested by the coin from Castel Gandolfo, contrary to all of the other evidence which points to a fourth-century date for gold glass, should be dismissed.

As noted in Chapter Three, that otherwise indistinguishable cut and incised technique gold glasses in the British Museum collection appear to have been variably decoloured with antimony and manganese further indicates a fourth-century date. The

composition of the glasses cannot, however, aid us in attributing a narrow date range to the medium. In the most part, the iconography of cut and incised gold glasses discussed in the context of the British Museum collection in Chapters 6-8 to parallel those generally the artistic language abounding throughout the fourth century. As such, they also cannot be used to suggest a narrower date range.

The occurrence of saints known to have been martyred in the early fourth century during the persecutions of Diocletian and before gives an effective 'terminus post quem' for the production of cut and incised gold glass. It is notable, however, that some of these saints, such as Agnes, Timothy, Sixtus, Laurence and Hippolytus, occurring on numerous gold glasses in Morey's corpus, as well as upon numbers **13**, **25** and **28** in the British Museum collection, do not seem to have become the subject of widespread renown in Rome until the later fourth-century (Grig 2004, p. 219-20). The depiction of saints who only really became widely popular in the later fourth-century on gold glass, accompanied by inscriptions suggesting that the owner of the glasses belonged to a cult of St Laurence on some examples (noted in Chapter Six, see also: Grig 2004, p. 223-4), may reasonably indicate a late fourth-century date for the medium itself.

Accepting the likelihood discussed above that all cut and incised technique gold glasses were the product of a single workshop, a fairly narrow date range might be implied. This can be tied firmly to the latter fourth century, particularly the 360s to 380s AD, on the basis of known individuals depicted in gold glass. Most of those known are present in the British Museum collection. The most famous is without doubt Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, identified with his wife on gold glass number **19**. Orfitus was prefect of Rome in every January except 357 between 354 and 359. The inscription on number **19** accompanying the portrait style depiction of Orfitus, discussed in Chapter 5, relates specifically to the wine producing region of Acerentia in central Italy. Alan Cameron suggests that Orfitus may have owned a vineyard in the area and that this particular glass was produced on behalf of one of Orfitus' clients or dependants to commemorate his wedding in the 340s or 350s (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 301). There is no evidence that so-called 'married couple' gold glasses were produced specifically for weddings, as is discussed in more detail in the following chapter however, and they

may well have been produced for a range of other occasions. It is equally plausible that the piece was produced to commemorate a visit made by Orfitus at some later date, perhaps in his more mature years when he was more likely to be the owner of large estates. A date anywhere in the 360s or 370s for the Orfitus gold glass is therefore equally likely.

The presence of Amachius on gold glass number **14**, identified within this thesis as Flavius Amachius, governor of Phrygia from 361-363 AD, and a known champion of the pagan revival further supports a date for cut and incised technique gold glass in the 360s AD or later. The gold glass diminutive medallion in the Vatican Museum collection bearing the word AUSONARIUM (Morey 1959, p. 29, pl. XXI, no. 129) has also been tentatively identified by Dalton and later by Alan Cameron and Grig as relating to the illustrious 'Ausonii', the secular family who flourished in Rome in the later fourth century (Dalton 1901a, p. 232; Alan Cameron 1996, p. 300; Grig 2004, p. 212). Secular individuals such as these were surely not likely to have been depicted in gold glass after their deaths, as is the case with popular saints and martyrs. Indeed, both examples in the British Museum collection express wishes of good health and long life to Orfitus and Amachius, indicating that the vessels were produced during the lifetime of the subjects. Such inscriptions never appear in gold glass in relation to any saint or martyr.

A number of gold glasses, including **13** in the British Museum collection (Figure 50), incorporate the portrait-style depiction of a male saint labelled DAMAS. No other saint or martyr being known of that name, DAMAS has almost universally been identified with the late fourth-century Pope Damasus, bishop of Rome between 366 and 384 AD (Garrucci 1864, pp. 142-6; 1872-1880, vol. 3, pp. 172-3 & 175; Vopel 1899, p. 87; Grig 2004, pp. 209-211). Two gold glasses in the Vatican Museum depict DAMAS alongside three other individuals. The first (inv. no. 484; Morey 1959, p. 25, pl. XVIII, no. 106) incorporates portrait-style depictions labelled as PASTOR, PETRVS and PAVLVS, whilst the second (inv. no. 175; Morey 1959, p. 25, pl. XVIII, no. 107) depicts DAMAS alongside SIMON, PETRVS and FLORVS. A further example in the Museo Nazionale in Florence (inv. no. 31; Morey 1959, p. 45, pl. XXVI, no. 250) depicts him with SVSTVS, PETRVS and PAVLVS. Illustrated above in Figure 50, the surviving fragment of number

**13** in the British Museum collection illustrates DAMAS alongside SIMON and SVSTVS and others, now lost.

Grig, expanding upon a brief statement by Vopel has argued that gold glasses depicting Damasus alongside other labelled individuals represent a circle of friends, and were produced, either by Damasus himself, notable in his efforts at literary self promotion (Grig 2004, p. 213), or by one of his circle to advertise their association with the pope (Vopel 1899, p. 87; Grig 2004, pp. 209-12). By implication, this would date gold glasses depicting DAMAS, and as such, the medium as a whole (being the product of a single workshop) to the period 366 to 384.

Although the 360s to 380s is indeed the era identified above as when the bulk of cut and incised gold glasses were probably produced, Grig's identification of the men as a group of friends wishing to advertise their association with the Pope is certainly in error. Grig stated that neither SIMON nor FLORVS, both depicted alongside DAMAS in gold glass were known to be either saints or martyrs in the late fourth century, and even went so far as to identify FLORVS with the secular man Florus father of Projecta, for whom Damasus wrote a funerary epitaph (Grig 2004, p. 210). Like Damasus himself, however, the men he is depicted alongside all wear the tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type identified in Chapter Six as being characteristic of Christian saints and holy men.

Contrary to Grig's hypotheses, a cursory examination of venerated fourth-century saints and martyrs reveals that a man by the name of Simon was martyred in Spain during the persecution of Diocletian (his feast day is recorded on the 27<sup>th</sup> October in the *Roman Martyrology*). Furthermore, during the same persecutions of Diocletian, an individual by the name of Florus was martyred in Ostia (his feast day is recorded on the 22<sup>nd</sup> December in the *Roman Martyrology*). PETRVS, PAVLVS and SVXTVS dressed in clergy-specific costume all constitute well known saints frequently depicted in gold glass, whilst PASTOR is even identified by Grig in the same paper as a Spanish martyr commemorated by Prudentius in the late fourth-century (Grig 2004, p. 210, fn. 38). Each of the individuals depicted with Damasus in gold glass thus may well constitute

saints and martyrs already venerated prior to the late fourth century, and certainly do not have to represent a group of late fourth-century friends.

Although it is still possible that gold glasses depicting Damasus alongside other Christian martyrs could have been produced during Damasus' lifetime, Grig readily admits that the self-promotion of Popes on items of portable material culture is unparalleled in any other media during the fourth and even fifth centuries AD (Grig 2004, 213-14). Indeed, although cut and incised gold glass has been argued above as a relatively expensive medium, it was certainly not of an aristocratic monetary value. Combined with the rudimentary spelling of Damasus' name, it is thus highly unlikely that gold glass depicting his image belonged to the aristocratic circles in which Damasus, the 'ear scratcher of matrons' (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 300) notoriously moved.

Importantly for our purposes, it should be noted that by the fourth century, a recently deceased bishop was customarily paid the highest honours of the church and accorded a liturgical place equal or similar to that of a martyr (Salzman 1990, 44). Indeed, in a passage from John Chrysostom's funerary encomium for Meletius, bishop of Antioch 360-381, the depiction of the deceased holy man is described as adorning the personal effects (including vessels) of the laity so that they may be consolidated after his departure from life. Chrysostom states that it was common practice for the laity to represent the image of a popular saint or recently deceased bishop 'on the bezel of their rings, on drinking cups and on bowls...and in many other places so they might not only hear his holy name, but also see everywhere his physical traits, thus having a double consolation after his demise' (St. John Chrysostom *Homil. Encom. in Meletium* PG 50, 516, translation in Mango 1986, pp. 39-40).

Damasus appears in the 'Roman Martyrology' along with five other Popes of much earlier periods all identified on gold glass (Ladner 1941, p. 16-37) and interpreted by Grig as some of those celebrated as part of the cult of saints and martyrs (Grig 2004, pp. 219-20). It is thus reasonable to conclude that the image of Pope Damasus on gold glass was not produced at his own instigation or by 'one of his circle' (Grig 2004, p. 210). Instead, they are likely to have been produced after his death by others who

were not of his personal acquaintance but who would have been glad of a bowl depicting his holy image alongside that of other popular saints and martyrs. This highly plausible scenario would enable us to date gold glasses bearing the images of saints labelled as IULIUS, identified by Grig as Pope Julius I (337-352), and FELIX, identified with Pope Felix I (268-273/4) by Grig (Grig 2004, p. 220) but more likely to represent either Pope Felix II (355-358) or a conflation of the two to the periods just after their deaths, the 360s and 370s respectively.

This date complements that suggested by the presence of the secular Orfitus and Amachius on the British Museum gold glasses discussed above. In this context, gold glasses bearing the image of Damasus should probably be dated to the late 380s, the period shortly after his death. Based on the evidence of known individuals appearing on gold glass, both secular and those venerated as saints after their deaths, the product of a single workshop, cut and incised technique gold glasses can thus be dated to the later fourth-century, potentially even to the thirty year period between approximately 360 and 390 AD.

#### **Overview, summary and discussion of gold glass distribution and context, workshop identity and chronology.**

This chapter has demonstrated that gold glass distribution, particularly cut and incised technique gold glass, is far wider than has previously been envisaged. No longer is the known distribution of cut and incised technique gold glass restricted only to the environs of Rome and Cologne, but can now be evidenced largely throughout the western empire, particularly in Italy, Gaul, and the Rhineland as well as the Balkans. In accordance with past scholarship, however, cut and incised technique gold glass is reported from Rome in far greater quantities than elsewhere across the empire. Indeed, generally fewer gold glasses have been recorded as the distance from Rome increases strongly suggesting that Rome was in fact the centre of cut and incised technique gold glass manufacture and the principal market for its distribution. Furthest away from Rome, no cut and incised technique gold glass has been reported from



Britain or the Iberian Peninsula. Nevertheless, the potential for their recovery in these regions in small numbers does exist.

In terms of gold glass context, the vast majority of gold glasses, including both the more common cut and incised technique as well as brushed technique examples, have been recovered from walls of the catacombs, inserted into the sealing plaster of the burial niches. Positioned in the same manner and often alongside other small items of comparatively little monetary value, this might further suggest that although gold glass may have been deemed expensive by the strata of society who did purchase it, it was not the preserve of the extremely wealthy who could afford to buy silver plate. This hypothesis is supported by inscriptions recording the burial of tradesmen of relatively modest means within the niches. Where gold glass has been reported from outside the catacombs, funerary contexts again prevail.

The overwhelming funerary context of gold glass is in no way, however, representative of a purely funerary function. Glass recycling in Rome and the Roman world has ensured that, unlike other material such as ceramics, any available old or broken glass could be collected and re-used to form other vessels. They thus disappear completely from the archaeological record in contexts other than burials, which were rarely disturbed (De Santis 2000, p. 242; Sternini 1995, p. 44; 1989, pp. 59-64). In this respect, the preservation of the majority of gold glasses in the Christian catacombs of Rome may account for the lack of pagan pieces. The inclusion of gold glasses, most often with Christian decoration, as grave goods, however, does suggest that, despite not necessarily being of great monetary value, they were still perhaps valued possessions of their owners. This notion is further enhanced by the broken fragments, often carefully trimmed down to the line of the base-disc to preserve only the iconography, apparently having been retained by their owners even after breakage and long before final deposition with a burial.

In contrast to the large number of different workshops postulated for gold glass based almost exclusively on subjective groupings of perceived stylistic traits, workshop identity is argued in this chapter to relate instead to general technique. On this basis, three separate workshops can be envisaged for the production of brushed technique,

gilt-glass trail and cut and incised technique gold glasses. Minor variations in iconographic style visible between glasses produced in the same technique are the result of a small number of different craftsmen working together within the same workshop. Despite the wider distributions of cut and incised and gilt-glass trail technique vessels, all three workshops were almost certainly located in Rome, from where their products were disseminated.

The attribution of gold glass to a small number of distinct workshops on the basis of technique have wider implications of chronology. The product of a single workshop, based on other comparative media all brushed technique gold glass portrait medallions can be dated to the late third and early fourth centuries. A similar date range is also attributable to gilt-glass trail vessels on the basis of the few pieces which can be dated through contextual association. Single workshop production has more significant ramifications for cut and incised technique gold glasses. Previously believed to be the product of multiple workshops operating separately throughout the fourth century, produced by a single workshop, the medium as a whole can instead be dated quite precisely to the 360s to 390s AD. This date has been attributed largely on the basis of known individuals depicted on glasses in the British Museum collection and other published corpuses known to me, whilst the abandonment of the catacombs in 410 AD provides an effective limit after which they cannot have been produced.

Individual glass workshops producing specialist glass of this nature over a period of little more than a generation seems to be a highly logical scenario in the Roman world. Specific glassmaking techniques such as gold glass are highly unlikely to have been willingly shared with rival glassworkers. With regard to cut and incised technique gold glass especially, the single workshop producing them may well have centred on a single family of glassworkers, the technique being subsequently lost on the death or retirement of the last family member hence the relatively short production period.

## **Chapter 10: Conclusions: the functions of gold glass in Late Antiquity**

The possible function or functions that gold glass may have served in Late Antiquity has been discussed by scholars ever since the first examples were published by Bosio in 1632-4. Initially, it was suggested that because gold glasses were (and continue to be) exclusively recovered from funerary contexts, then they must have been produced in order to fulfil some sort of funerary function. This is certainly in error. The vast majority of gold glasses in the corpus known to me once took the form of vessels. Furthermore, where inscriptions do occur they are predominantly wishes for health and long life on the behalf of secular individuals, regardless of the subject matter depicted. Indeed, the recorded funerary contexts of the vast majority of gold glasses have been noted above for the first time as being representative of the practice of glass recycling, rather than reflecting the genuine pattern of deposition. This chapter begins by presenting an integrated discussion of the primary function or functions of the different gold glass subtypes identified in Chapter Three, prior to their deposition as part of burials and catacomb internments. It then continues to provide an analysis of the secondary usage of gold glass as funerary objects before moving on to present the final general conclusions that can be drawn from this thesis.

### **The value and primary usage of gold glass**

Late Antique gold glass has in the past been predominantly viewed as a high-status medium, available only to the very wealthy (see for example: *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, pp. 267-8). With regard to the so-called 'brushed technique' portrait medallions, this is indeed likely to have been the case. Probably originating from a single workshop in the vicinity of Rome in the very early fourth century AD, the highly naturalistic and apparently individualised portraits of the people depicted were produced with great skill and precision. Indeed, the extremely fine incisions in the gold leaf which constitute the image take on the appearance of delicate brush-strokes, hence the name which has been applied to this category. The extremely high quality of artistry required to produce the portraits proper of individuals to an almost photographic standard in gold

leaf must certainly have commanded a very substantial fee, even if the amount of gold used in any one piece was minimal.

The probable primary function of brushed technique portrait medallions can be deduced both on the basis of the form of the objects as actual medallions, and on account of their iconography. As noted in Chapter Five, brushed technique portrait medallions considered to be genuine beyond any reasonable doubt depict the portraits proper either of individual men, or woman with one or more children. In no instance are both an adult man and woman shown on a single piece. With regards to the intended function of brushed technique gold glasses, this is significant. Brushed technique portrait medallions, portable, indeed pocket sized, may have served to evoke the presence of absent persons. The use of images to evoke the presence of an absent person is attested in a number of broadly contemporary textual sources. Predominant amongst these is the romance of 'Chaereas and Callirhoe', probably written in the mid-first century AD and still widely popular in the second century and later (Elsner 1998, p. 97). Two passages from the work explicitly tell of conferences held between Callirhoe and the portrait of her absent lover Chaereas on her ring (Chariton, *Chaereas and Callirhoe* 1.14 & 2.11, translated in Goold 1995, pp. 83 & 127).

Functioning to evoke the presence of an absent person or persons, the lack of either the adult male or his wife and children from gold glass brushed technique portrait medallions can be adequately explained. Medallions depicting individual men such as that in the British Museum collection (44) might have been the possessions of women, evoking the presence of an absent husband or son. Likewise, medallions depicting an adult female with one or more children may have been carried around by the father of the family whilst he was away from home. Indeed, on the Brescia medallion, which depicts a woman with her two children (Morey 1959, p. 42, pl. XXV, no. 237), a short inscription arguably referring to the 'father of the family' is present (Albizzati 1914, p. 253), even though an adult male is absent from the scene. Brushed technique medallions may thus have been commissioned by the extremely wealthy to serve as a highly portable and luxury alternative to painted portraits, which were perhaps more common, but, other than the Fayum mummy portraits, have not survived in the archaeological record.

At least three known individuals contemporary with the production of cut and incised technique gold glass in the late fourth century can be identified in the corpus known to me. In each instance they constitute men of very high rank and status, and thus by implication, wealth. The most frequently depicted person is Pope Damasus (Appendix 1 no. **13** in the British Museum collection, see also: Morey 1959, nos. 106, 107, 250 & 356); two other secular people can be identified in the British Museum collection, notably Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, prefect of Rome in the 350s AD (Appendix 1 no. **19**), and Flavius Amachius, governor of Phrygia from 361 to 363 AD (Appendix 1 no. 14). The portrait-style depictions of these aristocratic persons on cut and incised gold glass does not, however, indicate that the clientele was equally as distinguished.

On the contrary, it is improbable that number **14** in the British Museum collection was commissioned by Amachius himself. Dressed in the garb of an augur or pagan priest, many pagans of less than aristocratic means would have been glad to own a glass depicting one of their contemporaries so actively engaged in the resurrection of the old religion and the restoration of temples. Likewise, many ordinary Christians would have been glad to own a gold glass with the labelled image of the current or recently deceased Pope Damasus. Indeed, according to Alan Cameron, the spelling of Damasus' name in gold glass suggests that these objects were not intended for members of the aristocratic circles in which Damasus moved (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 300). If Alan Cameron's interpretation of the inscription accompanying the portrait-style depiction of Orfitus (**19**) is correct, and I see no reason why it is not, then the piece was probably commissioned not by Orfitus himself, but by the town of Acerentia in honour of its patron (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 300). This would suggest that whilst gold glass was not aristocratic in value, comparable, for example, with luxury silverware, the choice of it as a gift given by the small town to Orfitus certainly suggests that it was nevertheless expensive.

In direct contrast to brushed technique medallions, and contrary to the majority of scholarship published to date, neither 'gilt-glass trail' or 'cut and incised technique' gold glasses can be considered the preserve of only very rich, high status people. Glass itself was not an expensive material in Late Antiquity, and, as was noted in Chapter Four, the individual components such as base-discs and vessel bowls could effectively

have been mass-produced. In addition, the amount of gold leaf used in each object is extremely small and the designs can be mechanically transcribed from standard pre-prepared pattern books. The “vulgar” orthography of the inscriptions further indicates a less than aristocratic market for cut and incised technique gold glasses. Indeed, a large proportion of cut and incised gold glasses depicting secular people (such as **45** in the British Museum collection) do not have customised inscriptions naming the individuals depicted in the field. It thus follows that such examples were most probably purchased ready-made, and that the market for cut and incised gold glasses was by no means exclusive.

Nevertheless, the single workshop responsible for the production of cut and incised gold glass did have a monopoly. The emphasis placed on often idealised indicators of wealth and status may thus suggest that gold glass was considered an expensive medium by the strata of society who did purchase it. That social stratum was likely to have included people such as grocers and weavers who were buried in the catacomb loculi (Ferrua 1991, pp. 18 & 56), the sealing plaster of which gold glasses were embedded into alongside a range of other items, most often of relatively modest monetary value.

The primary function of cut and incised technique gold glass has in the past been interpreted predominantly in relation to the individual iconographic categories discussed in Chapters Five to Seven. Based exclusively on the depiction of ‘married couples’ on a great many cut and incised gold glasses, it has been widely suggested up to and including the present day that these gold glasses were produced to commemorate either weddings or the anniversaries of weddings (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 267; Alan Cameron 1996, p. 298; Grig 2004, p. 205). Discussed in detail in Chapter Five, gold glasses depicting the paired portraits of men and woman do certainly represent married couples. However, there is nothing to suggest that they were produced simply as wedding gifts or indeed relate to the actual marriage ceremony in any way. Many examples incorporate one or more children, thus constituting family groups, and as such cannot have been produced to mark a wedding.

The coronation of the wedded couple was a key feature of the Christian wedding ceremony in the fourth century AD. Where the paired portrait-style depiction of a single man and woman does occur in gold glass, the frequent presence of a central diminutive Christ simultaneously crowning the couple is thus often cited as evidence that the couple depicted are shown during their marriage ceremony (Walter 1979, p. 84; Vikan 1990, p. 152-3). However, the simultaneous crowning of co-emperors in this manner has been noted in Chapters Five and Six as also occurring on broadly contemporary coins, and on other gold glasses depicting saints, most frequently Peter and Paul. Rather than being indicative of the wedding ceremony itself, this particular motif thus clearly implies the notion of concordia and unity between two people. It is equally applicable to co-emperors and paired saints as it is to married couples perhaps many years after the actual wedding ceremony had taken place. Gold glasses of this type could therefore have been feasibly purchased by or for the couple depicted at any stage of their married life and need not have been purchased to mark any particular event.

Whilst 'married couple' gold glasses were certainly not produced specifically for the marriage ceremony, they may still have constituted a suitable wedding gift. In addition, it is clear that some gold glasses at least were produced specifically with the intention of commemorating a key event in the lives of those that either commissioned them to incorporate their names or purchased them with generic inscriptions ready-made. A single gold glass currently in the Metropolitan Museum, of Art New York (inv. no. 1915, 15.168; *Age of Spirituality* 1979, pp. 282-3, no. 261) does represent the marriage ceremony quite explicitly, and as such, was evidently produced to mark the occasion. Unlike the quarter-length bust portrait-style depictions of 'married couples' discussed above, the Metropolitan Museum glass depicts a man and a woman in full-length, and includes all of the key attributes applicable to the marriage ceremony. The couple join hands over an altar in the classic form of the 'dextrarum junctio', the marriage contract. Above their joined hands is presented a ring, presumably the wedding ring, and a single floating crown, noted above as featuring in the wedding ceremony, appears above their heads. The accompanying inscription reads VIVAS IN DEO, 'live in God'. Not present on any 'married couple' gold glasses known to me, this phrase

formed part of the Christian wedding ceremony since at least the third century AD (*Age of Spirituality* 1979, p. 283).

Weddings were not the only event commemorated in gold glass, however. Number **52** in the British Museum collection has been discussed above in Chapter Eight as depicting the boy Fortunis receiving the garments associated with manhood from his father. The piece was thus almost certainly produced to commemorate the 'togam virilem sumere', Fortunis' coming of age ceremony. The less-than-aristocratic material value of cut and incised gold glasses argue against the suggestion that such objects functioned as luxurious gifts to guests and well-wishers at ceremonious occasions, 'who may already have been so rich that they had everything' (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, pp. 267-8). Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest that they were presented to guests as mementos of the occasion at all (Cameron 1996, p. 298-9). It is instead far more likely that gold glasses produced for weddings and other notable events were purchased as one-off pieces either by or for the person or persons that the ceremony commemorated. A commemorative function for at least some gold glasses indicates that although cut and incised technique gold glasses may well have been owned by people of relatively modest status, they were nevertheless probably prized and valued items respective to the income of those that purchased them.

Discussed in detail in Chapter Six, gold glasses bearing the portrait-style depictions of Christian saints and martyrs are unlikely to have been produced to commemorate a specific event like those noted above. The most commonly repeated suggestion as to the function of these vessels is that they were used in the celebration of Christian feast days. This hypothesis has been based largely on a passage from St Augustine in praise of his mother St Monica (*Confessions* 6.2). Augustine states that Monica carried the self-same cup for use at multiple shrines to different martyrs, implying that some took more. By extension, the use of multiple cups by some implies that each vessel was individually tailored to the martyr at whose shrine it was to be used at. Gold glasses bearing the effigies of specific saints and including inscriptions urging their owners to drink do at first sight appear to be ideally suited to this practice. Instances depicting more than one saint have furthermore been cited by some scholars (e.g. Wiseman 1859, pp. 192-3; Grig 2004, p. 216) as evidence for the use of a single vessel at the



shrines of the multiple saints illustrated on the gold glass vessel bottom. Augustine makes no mention of the cup or cups being of gold glass, however.

Gold glass vessels bearing the portrait-style depictions of saints and martyrs may have been deemed suitable for use in the celebration of Christian feast days by those that owned them. However, they were certainly not produced for this purpose. Noted in Chapter Three, cut and incised technique gold glass vessels originally took the form of wide shallow vessels, not drinking cups. This form functioned primarily to show off the decorative image on the vessel base and is not well suited for drinking from. Indeed, that cut and incised gold glass vessels constituted wide shallow bowls was probably largely the result of the manufacturing process discussed in Chapter Four, and as such is unlikely to have been dictated by functional need.

Generic inscriptions accompanying the gold leaf image have often been interpreted as toasts and general encouragements to drink, hence the frequent identification of gold glasses as drinking vessels (e.g. Grig 2004, pp. 204-5). On closer examination, however, this interpretation of the inscriptions is certainly in error. Rather than being a simple convivial drinking toast, the commonly occurring motto *PIE ZESES* ('drink that you may live') has been identified by Auth as constituting a wish for life in a pagan, Jewish or Christian hereafter (Auth 1995, p. 108-10). The other frequently occurring word on gold glass meaning drink (*BIBAS*) has furthermore been interpreted by Alan Cameron as interchangeable with the word *VIVAS*, which also occurs frequently on gold glass and means 'life' (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 298). The generic inscriptions on cut and incised gold glasses thus in no way constitute simple drinking toasts as is often stated. As such, the inscriptions cannot be cited in support of a drinking or indeed any culinary function.

The production of gold glass in a single Roman workshop producing objects with Jewish, pagan and purely secular imagery, often with personalized wishes for life and health, makes official papal involvement in production extremely unlikely. This effectively puts paid to suggestions that gold glasses depicting saints with distinct Roman connections were produced as official papal propaganda in order to highlight the unassailability of Rome's apostolic tradition (e.g. Huskinson 1982, pp. 87-90).

Likewise, the long-standing hypothesis that gold glasses depicting the contemporary Pope Damasus were produced either by the pope himself or by another member of his circle of friends depicted alongside him to advertise their mutual association is also false. As noted in detail in Chapter Nine, the men depicted alongside Pope Damasus in gold glass can all be positively identified with third and early fourth-century saints and martyrs whose cults were popular in the late fourth century.

As noted in Chapter Nine, in his homily for the extremely popular Meletius, bishop of Antioch, John Chrysostom (Patriarch of Constantinople c. 344-407 AD) described the practice of depicting the image of the deceased holy man on the personal effects (including vessels) of the laity so that they may be consolidated after his departure from life (St. John Chrysostom *Homil. Encom. in Meletium* PG 50, 516, translation in Mango 1986, pp. 39-40). Meletius was bishop from 360-380 AD, contemporary with Damasus and the precise period argued above for the production of gold glass. The reference to the images of bishops being placed on drinking cups (John Chrysostom in Mango 1986, p. 40, fn. 82) and bowls akin to the form of cut and incised gold glass is significant. The vast majority of saints depicted in gold glass were of Roman origin, and had popular cults in late fourth century Rome. Furthermore, the promotion of the cult of Peter and Paul as joint martyrs, joint founders of Christianity in Rome, and jointly Rome's first bishops by the Roman church was at its strongest in the late fourth century (Huskinson 1982, pp. 87-90). The paired portrait-style depictions of Peter and Paul is noted in Chapter Six as being the most common depiction of saints illustrated in gold glass.

Rather than having been produced to serve a specific function, gold glasses bearing the paired portrait-style depictions of saints, martyrs and recently deceased bishops such as Damasus (366-384 AD) and, as noted in Chapter Nine, Julius I (337-52 AD) and Felix II (355-8 AD) might simply be interpreted as the result of market forces. Produced in Rome, the production of vessels bearing the images of persons revered by the population may reflect the widespread demand in Rome for items bearing the images of these people in affordable media. Furthermore, this hypothesis need not be restricted to the images of Christian saints in gold glass. It is equally applicable to the portrait-style depictions of individuals revered by the pagan population of Rome for

their attempts at pagan revival. Number **14** in the British Museum collection representing Flavius Amachius in the garb of a pagan augur, can be seen as a classic example of a pagan 'saint'.

Deemed to have been used in the celebration of martyr's feast days discussed above, gold glasses depicting Biblical and apocryphal episodic imagery have in the past been accorded a moralizing function. In a lovely passage from a Victorian Vicar, moralist, and antiquarian, it is assumed that gold glasses were indeed tumbler-type drinking vessels. As such, it was implied that because the Christian image could only then be viewed once the cup had been drained, the sight of the holy image would remind the drinker of good Christian morality and in doing so would dissuade him from taking another cup of alcohol (Wiseman 1859, p. 189; Northcote & Brownlow 1879, pp. 306-8)! This imaginative interpretation as to the function of gold glasses decorated with Christian scenes was based on a late fourth-century passage from the writings of Paulinus Bishop of Nola. Paulinus despaired at the drunken revelry that feasts of the martyrs often descended into. In response, he painted the walls of the shrine with holy images to arrest the attention of the revellers, causing them to spend much time in wonder at the images leaving less for gluttony and the consumption of wine (Paulinus of Nola *Poema XXVI. (aliter XXXV.)*, translation in Northcote & Brownlow 1879, pp. 306-7). This interpretation is certainly in error, however. Gold glass has been noted above as being neither used for drinking nor produced by the Church.

The Biblical and apocryphal images on cut and incised technique gold glasses are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven as in every instance presenting succinct examples of Christian typology and a visual demonstration of the unity of the Old and New Testaments. Many of the episodes depicted furthermore appear to parallel verses from the 'Commendatio animae', an Early Christian prayer for the dead popular in the fourth century. Despite this, it is highly unlikely that gold glasses depicting Biblical episodes were produced specifically to promote Christian typology or function in the context of the 'Commendatio animae'. Official Church involvement in gold glass production has been noted above as extremely unlikely. Furthermore, although many gold glasses illustrating biblical episodes are accompanied by inscription, in every instance this constitutes simple generic wishes for life and health. On no occasion are

the images accompanied by verses from the 'Commendatio animae' suggestive of a funerary function, as is the case on other contemporary objects noted in Chapter Seven. Inscriptions of this nature also highlight the unlikelihood that gold glasses depicting Christian episodes ever served as liturgical vessels, as first forwarded as early as 1720, and repeated, albeit often tentatively, up to and including the present day (Boldetti 1720, p. 189; Northcote & Brownlow 1879, pp. 321-4; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 268).

Typology and the unity of the two Testaments have been noted in Chapter Seven as being publicly preached to a widespread audience in the fourth century. As such the different Biblical episodes would have been very well known to the contemporary Christian population of Rome. Like the vessels illustrating the portrait-style depictions of saints discussed above, gold glasses portraying scriptural episodes were probably not manufactured to serve a specific function apart, perhaps for display purposes. Instead, they were likely to have been produced to cater for the demand for such images by everyday people in affordable media. This demand is aptly demonstrated in a passage from Asterius, bishop of Amaseia (d. c. 410 AD), written in the late fourth century and contemporary with the succinct period of cut and incised technique gold glass production argued in Chapter Nine.

Asterius notes that 'the more religious among rich men and woman, having picked out the story of the Gospels, have handed it over to the weavers- I mean our Christ together with all of His disciples, and each one of the miracles the way it is related... In doing this they consider themselves to be religious and to be wearing clothes that are agreeable to God' (Asterius of Amaseia *Homil.* I, in ed. Halkin 165-8, translation in Mango 1986, pp. 50-1). It is notable that Asterius not only mentions Biblical episodes, but also 'Christ together with all of His disciples' depicted on clothing deemed 'agreeable to God'. This further suggests that the portrait-style depictions of popular saints and martyrs on gold glass as well as the illustrations of Biblical episodes are indicative not of gold glass function, but rather of the demand for personal images in media affordable to the populace at large.

Produced in the late third or very early fourth century and the possessions of the wealthy, brushed technique gold glass medallions functioned to evoke the presence of an absent person or persons. Often taking the form of tumbler-style drinking vessels, gilt-glass trail technique glasses probably functioned as decorated drinking vessels, and although perhaps relatively expensive, were not restricted to only the very wealthy.

Cut and incised gold glasses functioned specifically for display purposes, akin to aristocratic silver (Leader-Newby 2004, p. 206). However, the medium was available to people of more modest means, but nevertheless probably constituted an expensive item relative to the purse of those that bought them. The product of a single workshop in the late fourth century, cut and incised technique gold glasses were purchased for aesthetic reasons on the basis of the images they depicted. The craftsmen producing these objects thus incorporated the iconographic subjects purely on the basis of market forces and popular demand, hence the mixture of Christian, Christianized, Jewish, pagan and purely secular images produced in the same workshop. The majority of surviving gold glasses in the published corpuses depicts Christian or Christianised subjects. This might therefore reflect the popular pre-eminence of Christianity in late fourth-century Rome. However, it is more likely that the phenomenon is instead the result of a preservation bias, the majority of pieces surviving in the Christian catacombs of Rome.

The materials used in the manufacture of gold glass vessels were not expensive in Late Antiquity. Raw glass was in no way a high-priced or luxury commodity (e.g. Stern 1999). As demonstrated by the above program of experimental reproduction, the amount of gold required for use in any one gold glass vessel is also minimal, whilst any excess can easily be caught and recycled, as is also the case with the excess glass (Sternini 1995, p. 44; 1989, pp. 59-64). The degree of artistry involved in producing the iconography is certainly not of the highest standard, even more so in the light of the images most probably having been mechanically transferred from pattern books. Furthermore, imperfections often occur in the finished design, highlighted above in Figure 27, which can only be attributed to carelessness or sloppy workmanship.

Ultimately, the process of fusing the gold leaf between the two layers of glass, once learned, required no more elementary skill than that of the very basic glassworker able to blow a simple bubble of glass. The production of base-discs and the final fusing of the decorated pieces could thus have been carried out on mass. In addition to this, Alan Cameron has emphasized that more than half of the gold glasses depicting secular people published in Morey's extensive catalogue are not customised. Many simply carry the generic legend *PIE ZESES* ('drink that you may live') or no legend at all (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 300). This again suggests that many of the glasses were produced on mass, rather than being tailored to specific individuals.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that gold glass vessels were mundane objects not highly valued by those that did own them. The only known secular person of genuine aristocratic standing to feature on gold glass is Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, prefect of Rome in every January except that of 357 between 354 and 359 AD. Discussed in detail by Cameron, Orfitus appears on a single example in the British Museum collection (19), accompanied, presumably, by his wife. The piece is discussed in detail in Chapter Five. The accompanying inscription in the border reads '*ORFITVS.ET CONSTANTIA.IN NOMINE HERCVLIS*' followed in the field by '*ACERENTINO FELICES BIBATIS*'. It is translated as 'Orfitus and Constantia, may you live/drink in happiness in the name of Hercules of Acerentia' (Alan Cameron 1996, p. 298). *ACERENTINO* almost certainly refers to the small Roman town of Acerentia (modern day Acerenza) situated on the border of Lucania and Apulia in southern Italy. It is not a misspelling or biform of 'Acheron' (the underworld) as translated in 'Glass of the Caesars' (1987, p. 280, no. 155) and 'Byzantium' (1994, pp. 31-2, no. 9b).

Alan Cameron suggests that the unusual dedicatory inscription on the Orfitus gold glass indicates that it was commissioned not by Orfitus himself, but instead by the small town of Acerentia, possibly in honour of its patron. Indeed, the inscription marks this example out as different from all of the others in this category, deviating from the more common formula's generically expressing short wishes for life and health. Indeed, Cameron has noted that the 'vulgar' orthography of the majority of inscriptions does not suggest an elitist market for cut and incised technique gold glasses (Cameron 1996, p. 298). The piece also employs a slightly greater use of over-

painted enamel than other examples. Furthermore, in contrast to the majority of other pieces known to me, the gold leaf incision has been carried out to a very high standard, and a great deal of care appears to have been taken when removing the excess leaf. This is particularly notable with regard to the small and highly intricate lettering making up the unusually long portion of the inscription in the field. If Alan Cameron's hypothesis is correct, this would suggest that gold glass was deemed valuable enough to be presented to an aristocratic person relative to the more modest wealth of a small settlement such as Acerentia. By implication, the intended aristocratic recipient for this particular gold glass may have necessitated rather more care in the production of the object itself, and suggests that whilst gold glass may have been deemed expensive, it was not usually produced for an aristocratic market.

The price of glass in the fourth century can be further considered in the context of Diocletian's Edict of Maximum Prices. Written in 301 AD for use in the eastern provinces, the edict is a very comprehensive document and specifies prices for seven or eight hundred different articles, including glass. The surviving sections related to glass in Diocletian's edict have been examined by Charlesworth and Barag (Charlesworth in Erim & Reynolds 1973, pp. 108-9; Barag 1987, pp. 109-16). In Barag's most recent discussion of the edict recovered from Aphrodisias (Asia Minor), he notes a *libra* of glass occurring in line 7a as valued at 40 denarii, by far the most expensive noted in the entire document (Barag 2005, p. 184). Following a brief mention by Stern (1999, p. 466) he goes on to note his temptation to reconstruct the missing fragment of line 7a as "[YAAOY XPYΣ]OY", translated as 'of gold glass' (Barag 2005, p. 184). Rather than referring to Late Antique gold glass as discussed in this paper, however, which is generally dated to the latter part of the fourth century and is rarely recorded from the eastern Empire, it is most likely that this line relates to gold glass for mosaic tesserae (Stern 1999, p. 466).

Nevertheless, providing that this reconstruction of the complete sentence is correct, the fundamental implication of line 7a of the Aphrodisias copy of Diocletian's Edict of Maximum Prices strongly suggests that glass incorporating gold in some unspecified form were considered to be more expensive than vessels made of glass alone. Furthermore, prices from other documentary sources dating to the 360s AD indicate

that the cost of most goods were always higher in Rome (where the majority of gold glass has been found) than anywhere else (Duncan-Jones 1982). That Late Antique gold glass was perhaps more expensive relative to other contemporary glassware does not mean that it was of aristocratic value in fourth century Rome, however.

The shallow bowl form of the majority of cut and incised gold glasses is likely in the first instance to have been a result of the manufacturing process. It constitutes the easiest way of producing a gold leaf image protected between two layers of glass and enables the design to be highly visible when displayed. However, shallow bowls were a popular practical form in glass as well as other media such as ceramics in the later fourth century. As such, this useful form may well have contributed to making gold glass vessels more saleable, even if the shallow bowl profile did not relate to any practical specific intended function. In the case of almost half of the pieces in the British Museum collection where the foot-ring or part of the foot-ring is preserved (8 out of 20 pieces), however, the profiles reveal that the concave vessel base is lower than the height of the foot-ring (nos. **1, 19, 20, 23-4, 27, 35 & 40**). This means that the bowl could not have been stable when placed on a flat surface, and, ultimately, was unlikely to have been a functional object.

If gold glass was used for display purposes in the same way as contemporary silver plate, then it is important to contrast the monetary value of both 'gold glass' and silver in Diocletian's Edict of Maximum Prices. The surviving sections of the edict concerning silver are unfortunately too fragmentary to be of use (Doyle 1972, p. 95), nevertheless, the data for 'common metals' such as copper, bronze and brass do survive. In each instance they are valued considerably higher, indeed more than double, per pound than the entry for 'gold glass'. The price of silver in the edict is thus likely to have been higher still. Indeed, the place of glass in relation to silver in the 'hierarchy of materials' is well illustrated in a late third to fourth century AD text from Roman Galilee discussing the criteria for public assistance (for a full discussion of the date of this piece see: Goodman 1983, pp. 9-10 and also Vickers 1996). It states that 'if a man formerly used gold vessels, he must sell them and use silver vessels; if he used silver vessels, he must sell them and use bronze vessels; if he formally used bronze vessels,



he must sell them and use glass vessels' (Tosephta *Peah* 4:11, translated in Vickers 1996, p. 49).

Complementary to the above discussion, based on Diocletian's Edict of Maximum Prices we might thus conclude that gold glass was certainly an expensive medium in fourth-century Rome, particularly in relation to other glassware. It was not, however, the preserve of those who could afford silver plate in order to fulfil the same proposed function of display. Indeed, there appears to be no obvious alternative high status glassware fulfilling this function from the city of Rome during the late fourth century. As a result, gold glass such as the British Museum example dedicated to the aristocrat Orfitus (inv. no. BM P&E 1863.7-27.3) may not have been out of place in the homes of the extremely wealthy, and would certainly have constituted a suitable gift from the members of a small community to its wealthy patron.

Nevertheless, it seems highly likely that gold glass was also affordable to persons lower down the social scale, but who could not afford luxurious silver plate in order to fulfil the same function of display. These individuals may perhaps have included the more successful amongst the traders and craftsmen identified as being interned in the same areas of the catacombs from which the majority of gold glass has been recovered (Ferrua 1991, p. 156; Alan Cameron 1996, p. 299). Whilst gold glass is thus likely to have constituted the most valuable display pieces in the homes of such individuals, the vessels are likely to have constituted less valued items in the homes of extremely wealthy silver owning aristocrats such as Orfitus.

### **Secondary use of gold glass in Late Antiquity**

As noted above, just as gold glasses were chiefly valued for their iconography in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so they probably were in the fourth century. It is thus of little surprise then that at least some cut and incised technique vessels were closely trimmed down to the line of their base-discs or diminutive medallion blobs to preserve only the iconography in antiquity. In some instances, this may have been carried out after the original vessel had been accidentally broken. In others, however, the vessel walls may have been completely and deliberately removed in order to

create a portable decorated medallion. On rare occasions, gold glass diminutive medallions are shown to have been re-worked into jewellery prior to their deposition in this manner (e.g. Vatican Museum inv. no. 672 (ex-481); Morey 1959, p. 31-2, pl. XXI, no. 150; Zanchi Roppo 1969, no. 126, fig. 34).

It is significant that all of the gold glasses known to me to have been reduced to their base-disc in antiquity depict either the portrait-style depictions of Christian saints, or instances of Biblical episodic imagery. Closely trimmed to form medallions, some cut and incised technique gold glasses depicting Christian saints and subjects may have been used by those that purchased them as portable objects of personal devotion, in some instances perhaps depicting the saint whose cult the owner of the gold glass image followed. In this context, gold glasses bearing the portrait style depictions of saints with simple personal dedicatory inscriptions (such as number **47** in the British Museum collection; see also Grig 2004, p. 223-4) may have been deemed particularly suitable.

The deposition of gold glasses in the catacombs and as grave goods in burials (Appendix 2) suggests a secondary usage for at least some pieces. In the catacombs, gold glasses are noted in Chapter Nine as having been recovered fixed into the wet sealing plaster of individual loculi, or burial niches. Cut and incised gold glasses were affixed into the plaster sometimes as complete vessels, sometimes as the broken fragments of vessels, and occasionally as closely trimmed roundels, retaining only the iconography. Gold glasses from these contexts have from the earliest times (e.g. Bosio 1632-4, pp. 126, 197, 509) been identified as markers identifying the person or person interned in each niche. This hypothesis has been repeated, almost verbatim by subsequent scholars up to and including the present day (e.g. *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 266; Stern 2001, p. 139). It was further strengthened when an identical function was also suggested in the late nineteenth century for the range of other items affixed in the same manner in the wet plaster of the burial niches (e.g. Northcote & Brownlow 1879, pp. 266-97; Salvetti 1978, pp. 103-130; De Santis 1994, pp. 23-51; pp. Bisconti 2002, pp. 77-83, discussed in Chapter Nine).

According to Rossi (de Rossi 1864-1877, vol. 3, pp. 575-8), these objects, inclusive of gold glass, functioned to enable individual tombs to be identified amongst the packed walls of the galleries, studded with loculi and otherwise unrecognisable. This long-standing interpretation of these objects is, however, in error. In the areas known to Rossi and other eighteenth and nineteenth-century explorers, the majority of the objects fixed into the sealing plaster of the loculi had been long since looted with only a few pieces still remaining. In contrast, Bisconti's overview of more recent catacomb discoveries aptly demonstrates that in undisturbed areas, items fixed to the sealing plaster of the loculi exist in profusion (Bisconti 2002, p. 79). As such, it would have been near impossible to identify easily any individual tomb from another because of the presence of a large number of highly similar items associated with each. Instances of gold glass from these contexts are no exception. As discussed in Chapter Five, even where secular people are depicted, they are almost entirely presented as generic and highly stylised figures. Furthermore, many cut and incised technique gold glasses depicting secular people do not include identifying name labels. Indeed, not all gold glasses constitute the portraits and portrait-style depictions of secular people.

In 1919, Eisen considered gold glasses with Christian images to have served as protective amulets for the dead, embedded into the catacomb walls in order to indicate that the deceased was Christian and thus serve as a deterrent to evil (Eisen 1919, no. 2). This explanation may be at least possible with regard to gold glasses bearing the portrait-style depictions of saints and martyrs whose cults were popular during the late fourth century. It does not, however, present an all-encompassing explanation. Not all of the gold glasses that have been recovered from the walls of the catacombs incorporate Christian iconography, however, but also include, albeit in smaller numbers, Jewish, pagan and distinctly secular images. In his discussion of the use of amulets in Roman Catacomb burials, Nuzzo does not classify gold glasses as fulfilling the same function. Indeed, objects classed as amulets in Nuzzo's paper have distinctly different iconography than that featured in gold glass (Nuzzo 2000, pp. 249-255).

Identified as functional vessels, cut and incised gold glasses have also been interpreted by recent scholars (following the suggestion made by Boldetti 1720, pp. 188-91) as

having been used in a final meal, both the classic type of libations or the more typically Christian 'refrigerium' at the tomb of a recently deceased relative before the burial niche was closed (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 266; Deichmann 1993, p. 319; Grig 2004, p. 205). Utilitarian glass vessels inserted into the sealing loculi plaster of Roman catacombs as complete objects have been interpreted in this context by De Santis (De Santis 2000, p. 240). On completion of the meal, the vessel was either inserted complete or as a broken base into the sealing plaster of the burial niche, according to 'Glass of the Caesars', 'perhaps in a gesture matching the pagan deposition of grave goods in this period of transition to Christianity' (*Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 266). Indeed, Bisconti tentatively suggests that the deliberate breaking of some of the gold glass vessels could have been connected to the ritual gesture of the breakage of the food container used for the funerary meal (Bisconti 2002, p. 80). This interpretation may perhaps be plausible in a small number of cases. However, it certainly does not provide an adequate explanation for the majority of gold glasses inserted into the walls of the catacombs, which as noted above may have been closely trimmed to form decorative medallions and in some instances pieces of jewellery long before their deposition.

Any plausible explanation as to the secondary function of gold glass in the catacombs must take into account the wide range of other objects deposited in association with them. Occurring in profusion, items such as coins, children's toys, shells and leaves have been noted above as unsuitable for the identification of individual tombs, and could not have functioned as protective amulets. Neither could they have been used in the consumption of a funerary meal or other similar rite. As far back as 1720, Boldetti identified these items as grave ornamentation and signs of affection (Boldetti 1720, pp. 188). Bisconti has suggested that the objects chosen to ordain the sealing plaster of individual loculi were those considered to be the most decorative and aesthetically pleasing to the viewer (Bisconti 2002, p. 79-80).

These objects may also in some cases constitute objects dear to the deceased, and are thus reflective of the pagan concept of grave goods. Gold glasses have been argued above as a relatively expensive medium in terms of the people of more modest wealth who are likely to have purchased them. Often depicting popular Christian imagery,

gold glass was thus probably an object considered dear to the deceased, and as such would have been well-suited for deposition as a grave good. This aptly explains the presence of gold glass in inhumation burials as well as in the sealing plaster of catacomb loculi. The presence of brushed technique portrait medallions in the sealing plaster of catacomb loculi noted in Chapter Nine might have similarly represented an object dear to the deceased. Alternatively, however, most probably bearing the portrait of an ancestor from the late third century, the object may have lost its significance for the family's descendents by the latter part of the fourth century. As such, it was deemed suitable for incorporation into the decorative program of an individual tomb in much the same way as organic but nevertheless aesthetically pleasing material such as shells and leaves.

The practice of decorating individual loculi with objects such as leaves, coins, and gold glasses has been suggested by Bisconti as a more modest substitute for decorative program of frescos which adorned the areas of the catacombs reserved for people of high status and wealth (Bisconti 2002, p. 79-80). Bright materials such as glass would have captured the light of pilgrims' lamps, thus encouraging the visitors to direct their glance towards the resulting reflections in an attempt to ensure that those interned in the loculi did not go unnoticed and thus un-remembered (Bisconti 2002, pp. 81-2). The person in charge of decorating the individual loculi with one or more gold glass vessels is indeed in some instances likely to have broken the object intentionally in order to isolate and better display the image. The images depicted in gold glass have been noted above as being the most valued feature of the objects. The images have also been noted in Chapters Five to Eight to closely parallel catacomb painting and sarcophagi also found in the catacombs. As such, alongside the other objects displayed, gold glasses are likely to have held the same intended function as the more lavish paintings and sarcophagi of the really very wealthy. Gold glasses were dear to the deceased during life, exemplified by their reduction to decorated base-disc medallions and occasionally their incorporation into items of jewellery long before their final deposition. In this respect, they might also have constituted a suitable grave good akin to pagan tradition, accounting for gold glasses such as the St Severin bowl deposited in inhumation burials outside the catacombs.

### **General conclusions**

Based on the British Museum collection, this thesis has presented an in-depth case study of Late Antique gold glass. As a result, I have been able draw a series of conclusions based on art historical, archaeological and scientific analysis. These conclusions are applicable not only to the entire medium of gold glass, but also to the wider study of fourth-century Rome and to the collection of early Christian and medieval art and antiquities in the nineteenth century. Rather than constituting one single medium, as a result of this thesis, objects collectively termed 'gold glass' can now be separated into three chronologically distinct subtypes based on technique. Each subtype was the product of a single separate workshop which in each instance operated over little more than a generation.

Produced in the late third or early fourth century, 'brushed technique' gold glass medallions constituted the portraits proper of individuals who were rich enough to commission an almost photographic reproduction of their likeness. These medallions served to evoke the presence of the person or persons depicted when they were away from home, and probably functioned as pocket likenesses. Also produced in the later third or early fourth century, gild-glass trail inscription gold glass vessels probably served as steep sided drinking vessels, the inscriptions constituting drinking toasts and other similar mottoes being visible only when the contents had been drained. The product of a single workshop, gilt-glass trail inscription vessels were most probably far from purely utilitarian objects. Nevertheless, although they may have still been considered expensive, the relatively basic degree of glass-working skill implies that they were available to people of somewhat more modest means than broadly contemporary brushed technique medallions.

As a direct result of this thesis, cut and incised technique gold glasses can all be assigned to a single workshop producing wide shallow bowls with decorated bases, gilt-glass plaques, diminutive medallion studded bowls, and elaborate kantharoi in the later part of the fourth century. Based on the glass-working ability and skill needed to produce each product discussed in Chapter Four, wide shallow bowls would have

constituted the easiest to produce and indeed the most durable of the gold glass products offered by this single workshop. Needing two glass-workers to complete each vessel and a higher degree of artistic ability to produce the much smaller depictions, diminutive medallion studded bowls might thus be considered a mid-range product. Kantharoi would probably have constituted the very top end of gold glass production within the workshop.

As only a minimal amount of gold leaf is required for each type of vessel, each piece was probably priced according to the glass-working skill involved in its production. This hypothesis is supported by the relative numbers of each cut and incised technique gold glass subtype. Wide shallow vessels, the easiest type to produce, make up the bulk of the surviving corpus, and as such, more of them were probably produced and sold in antiquity. Far from being objects of aristocratic status as has been suggested in the past, these items would certainly have been available to people of more modest means. Nevertheless, as the workshop producing them had a clear monopoly, they may still have been deemed very expensive to those who did purchase them. Fewer diminutive medallion studded vessel fragments have survived, whilst the number of gold glass kantharoi that have come down to us from antiquity is extremely small.

This thesis has greatly expanded upon the known distribution of cut and incised gold glass, commonly stated as only having been found in Rome and Cologne, to include twenty-one separate find-spots throughout the western empire. Nevertheless, the vast majority of cut and incised technique gold glasses with any record of provenance have been found in Rome. The iconography of cut and incised gold glasses in each instance also relates directly to the artistic language prevalent in fourth-century Rome, and as such, this is also most likely to have been the centre of production. Based upon the identification of only one single workshop as well as a small number of known individuals illustrated upon its products, cut and incised technique gold glass can for the first time be dated quite concisely to the period between the 360s and 390s AD. Such a narrow date range has considerable ramifications both for the development of artistic types and also for the precise dating of the burials inside catacombs to which gold glasses remain attached.

Although Christian subjects were undoubtedly popular during the period of gold glass production, their survival in such large numbers on gold glass is most likely to be the result of a preservation bias within the Christian catacombs. As such, examples of gold glass depicting Jewish, pagan and purely secular subjects probably existed in far greater numbers in the late fourth century than they do today. Just as gold glass was valued by the early antiquarians on account of the images they depicted, so to was the case in late fourth-century Rome. At least some gold glass vessels were reduced to retain only their decorated base-discs and diminutive medallions after they had been broken, perhaps at some considerable time prior to their deposition. Indeed, occasionally, individual diminutive medallions were reused in the late fourth century as items of jewellery. In some instances, however, the vessel walls may have been removed intentionally by their owners in order to produce a portable decorated medallion.

Cut and incised gold glass and the images that they depicted were most probably produced as the result of market forces in order to fulfil the popular desire of Romans to personally own images of various popular subjects. This desire was probably served by a whole range of objects in the late fourth century, the majority probably produced in perishable media and available to people of every social stratum. Although cut and incised gold glass was likely to have been an expensive medium, it was not the preserve of aristocratic men and women who could afford luxury silverware. Instead, cut and incised technique gold glass probably constituted some of the most costly and items in the houses of people of more modest status, but who nonetheless were perhaps still wealthy.

Like silverware, gold glass probably functioned predominantly as display items within the home, and constituted some of the most prized possessions of their owners. Nevertheless, the functional forms (bowls, kantharos style drinking vessels etc) of many pieces may well have made them more saleable objects, even if in the majority of cases they were valued too highly by their owners to be put to sustained utilitarian use. This being the case, gold glass was almost certainly incorporated into the sealing plaster of the catacombs as a secondary usage for two very simple reasons. First, this was because they were a treasured possession of the deceased during life and as such



constituted a suitable grave good. Secondly, the images that are depicted on cut and incised gold glass are largely the same as those featured on large stone sarcophagi and the elaborate paintings which adorned the areas of the catacombs reserved for people of great wealth and status. As such, gold glasses presented the ideal substitute for those who, despite being wealthy, could not afford to go to such measures.

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# **Late Antique Gold Glass in the British Museum**

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Volume 2: The Appendices

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## **Appendix 1: catalogue of Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum collection**

The British Museum contains fifty-five genuine examples of Late Antique gold glass, and a further ten fakes and forgeries, nineteenth-century Venetian replicas and experimental reproductions. The majority of the objects are curated by the department of Prehistory & Europe, whilst a single piece is curated by the department of Greek & Roman Antiquities. This comprehensive catalogue of the British Museum collection of gold glass is referred to throughout the main thesis text.

### **Arrangement of the catalogue**

Since no other published catalogue has included every example of gold glass in the British Museum collection, new catalogue numbers have been issued for all objects. Where a name has been used to refer to a specific example in the majority of published literature (e.g. St Severin bowl), that name has also been included following the objects assigned number. The catalogue itself has been arranged broadly chronologically by order of museum benefactor and the date of the first acquisition made from each. A detailed biography of each museum benefactor and precise details of each acquisition is discussed in detail in Chapter Two. Genuine gold glasses within the collection acquired from known benefactors are listed first, followed by objects registered as Old Acquisitions, where no record of acquisition details is preserved within the museum archive. The more recent fakes and reproductions are catalogued last, again in the order they entered the museum.

The majority of inventory numbers take the form of the year, month and day of acquisition, followed by the specific number of the particular object from the larger collection being registered, thus, for example, 1863.7-27.3. Prefixing the inventory numbers by which each object is registered on the British Museums accession register and object database, P&E stands for the department of Prehistory and Europe, whilst G&R denotes that the piece is held by the department of Greek and Roman

Antiquities. Objects registered with the additional British Museum prefix OA, stand for 'Old Acquisition'. The list of references provided for each entry is restricted only to publications dealing specifically with the individual object itself. The references to published catalogue entries of Dalton (1901b) and Morey (1959) which have until now been the standard works, are referenced in **bold** to aid identification.

In preparing the individual entries I have attempted to give as full information as possible about the find-spots, basic dimensions, iconography and physical nature of each object. Colour photographs of, where possible, both the front and back of each piece are included at the end of the catalogue, as are the profile illustrations of each glass.

## Catalogue entries

### 1. P&E 1854.7-22.3

*Saint Peter with female orant*

Bunsen collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) apparently found in an unspecified catacomb at Rome. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 72mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 71mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 100mm; T (bottom layer) 1mm; T (top layer) 3mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. The vessel base is lower than the foot-ring; this means that the bowl could not have been stable when placed on a flat surface. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been trimmed very closely along the line of the base-disc, approximately half of which is missing. A deep score on the surface of both sides of the piece represents a failed or aborted attempt to remove the foot-ring. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. Iridescence and discolouration are present on both surfaces inhibiting part of the image (Garrucci's line drawing is presented in Figure 54 in the main thesis text). The base disc has many half-circular cracks and a portion is missing towards the top of the

piece exposing the upper layer. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular single band border on the left of the field is depicted the full length portrait-style depiction of an adult male figure, bearded and with short hair. The figure is bare foot and wears tunic and pallium with an over-painted red enamel stripe at the bottom. He holds a scroll with both hands, the first two fingers of his right hand extended. He is depicted seated on a folding stool with thin, curved legs tapered at the bottom, his head and legs in profile facing inwards and to the right of the field whilst his upper body is portrayed frontally. To the right of him stands a female figure of which only the lower portion survives. She is dressed in a tunic and palla above which the border of a veil is just visible. As her hands are not visible at her sides it is likely that she is standing orant. In the surviving space between the two figures is a single dot. The floor surface is scored to give the impression of boards. In the field, curved in accordance with the inside of the circular border, the remaining inscription reads PET[rus]. A leaf-spray is depicted at the beginning of the inscription, on the opposite side, presumably at the end of the (now lost) latter part of the inscription is depicted three hart shaped leaves.

The remaining inscription, physical appearance and costume of the seated male figure imply that it is Saint Peter who is represented. Following Garrucci, Dalton suggested that the depiction represents an apocryphal act of Saint Peter, and that the second figure represents one of his female students, specifically Saint Petronilla, Saint Pudensiana or Saint Praxed. It is unfortunate that the majority of the inscription, which probably continued to give the name of the female figure and thus identify the scene, has been lost. Contrary to Dalton's hypothesis, the scene may in fact be a devotional image. Discussed in Chapter Six, the female depicted might plausibly be intended to represent the secular woman who commissioned the glass, commending her soul to Saint Peter, whose cult she might have been a member of. The now lost portion of inscription might have given her name, but may also have constituted a dedicatory inscription like that on gold glass number **47** in this catalogue, also depicting Saint Peter.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 128, **no. 634**; Garrucci 1858, p. 37, pl. XVI.2; 1864, p. 102, pl. XVI.2; 1872-1880, vol. 3, pp. 144-5, pl. 179.1; Iozzi 1900, p. 20, pl. III.4; Morey 1959, p. 57, pl. XXX, **no. 342**; Vopel 1899, no. 318. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 2. P&E 1854.7-22.4

### *Paired portrait-style depictions of Saints Peter and Paul*

Bunsen collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) apparently found in an unspecified catacomb at Rome. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 38mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 46mm; T (bottom layer) 1mm; T (middle layer) 4mm; T (top layer) 4mm

Three layers of greenish colourless blown glass, gold leaf design sandwiched between the lowermost and middle layers. The piece has a slightly concave base-disc. Fragment; broken all around, less than half the full extent of the iconography is retained. No part of the foot-ring is retained on the surviving fragment. On the reverse, the lowermost layer of glass is cracked towards the bottom. Infiltration between the middle and lowermost layers has resulted in some discolouration of the iconography. The image is far clearer when viewed in the reverse. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. Some iridescence and bubbles are present in the glass. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been discoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular single band border, on the left of the field is depicted the frontal quarter length bust of a short haired and bearded adult male. He wears a tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type. The clergy-specific status-laden 'omophorion' is given further prominence with over-painted red enamel. His head is quarter turned inwards. On the right of the field the fragment preserves a similar short haired and bearded head of an adult male; his head quarter turned facing inwards. Between the busts is depicted a spray of leaves below which are two dots. To the left and above the shoulder of the first bust is depicted a small leaf-spray. In the field, above the shoulder of the first bust and curved in accordance with the inside of

the circular border, the remaining inscription reads [p]ETRVS [...]. The remaining inscription and physical appearance of the seated male figure clearly implies that it is Saint Peter who is represented to the left of the field. The identical figure depicted to the right of the field thus probably represents Saint Paul. As such, the now lost portion of the inscription probably constituted the name label PAVLVS.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 129, **no. 638**; Garrucci 1858, p. 33, pl. XI.4; 1864, p. 93, pl. XI.4; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 147, pl. 180.4; Iozzi 1900, p. 15, pl. II.8; Morey 1959, p. 56, pl. XXX, **no. 338**; Vopel 1899, no. 360. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### 3. P&E 1854.7-22.5

*Portrait-style depiction of a 'married couple'*

Bunsen collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) apparently found in an unspecified catacomb at Rome. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 53mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 73mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 100mm; T (bottom layer) 2mm; T (top layer) 4mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been trimmed along the line of the base-disc, approximately two-thirds of which is missing. The top glass layer is cracked. Severe discolouration to the upper portion of the top glass layer relating to the break and corresponding cracks inhibits the view of the image in this area. Only the lower portion of the image survives. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular serrated reciprocal border are depicted two half-length busts. To the left of the field is a female figure wearing a richly embroidered mantel and to the right a male, abutting but not overlapping the female. His costume is unintelligible, but may be a toga contabulata. The remaining

iconography indicates that the complete image originally comprised the portrait-style depictions of a 'married couple'.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 121, **no. 614**; Garrucci 1858, p. 62, pl. XXXII.5; 1864, p. 168, pl. XXXII.5; Iozzi 1900, p. 31, pl. VII.1; Leclercq 1923, p. 1856, no. 489; Morey 1959, p. 56, pl. XXX, **no. 337**; Vopel 1899, no. 145. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

#### **4. P&E 1854.7-22.6**

##### *Temple or sanctuary*

Bunsen collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) apparently found in an unspecified catacomb at Rome. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 87mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 45mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 90mm; T (bottom layer) 2mm; T (top layer) 2mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been crudely broken away roughly in accordance with the base-disc, of which only the left half survives. There is some cracking in the gold-leaf which is discoloured on the right hand side of the piece broadly along the line of the central break. A thin iridescent film is apparent in places on the surface. Numerous small scratches appear on the underside and are possibly the result of overzealous cleaning. Several small chips are visible in the upper surface of the base-disc, enclosed between it and the vessel bottom. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular single band boarder is depicted a temple or sanctuary incorporating columns with foliated capitals, perhaps in attempt to represent those of the Corinthian style. These support an architrave decorated with a scroll design. The structure rests on a podium decorated as to imitate the folds of drapery. The space between the columns is closed by gates or railings indicated by cross-hatching, above which is depicted a vase, perhaps representing a lamp,



suspended by a cord from the architrave. To the left of the column appearing to the far left of the surviving fragment, the centre of the original image, a number of lines possibly indicate the folds of a curtain, presumably covering the temple entrance. However, it is also possible that they represent the longer garments of a standing figure. In the field, curved in accordance with the inside of the circular border, the remaining inscription reads [...] (dot) IN DEO.

Apart from the central area, which may or may not have depicted a single person, the iconography of this example is likely to have been largely symmetrical, allowing us to reconstruct the depiction represented on the missing portion of the base-disc. The words IN DEO are usually prefixed with VIVAS on other gold glasses in the published corpuses of Garrucci and Morey. This scenario can be conjectured for this piece also, completing the phrase 'live in God'. The only comparable image in gold glass depicts the Jewish feast of Tabernacles, and also incorporates a colonnaded temple (St Claire 1985). Unlike the comparable example, however, the British Museum piece does not include any unequivocally Jewish symbols. Furthermore, the inscription VIVAS IN DEO indicates that the subject was probably Christian and not Jewish.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 130 **no. 644**; Garrucci 1858, p. 88, pl. XXXIX.10; 1864, p. 221, pl. XXXIX.10; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 196, pl. 203.7; Leclercq 1923, p. 1843, no. 299; Morey 1959, p. 58, pl. XXX, **no. 348**; Vopel 1899, no. 459. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 5. P&E 1854.7-22.7(to 10)

### *Latin Inscription*

This piece comprises of four separate fragments, and has been assigned four different British Museum numbers. As the fragments represent a single piece they are here treated as one.

Bunsen collection

Cut and incised technique gilt-glass plaque (c. 360-400 AD) apparently found in an unspecified catacomb at Rome. D (conjectured) 150mm; T (maximum) 4mm

Single layer of greenish colourless blown glass with tapered edges. Fragment; four pieces, composite parts of the same object and can be joined as is illustrated in the accompanying photograph. The piece appears to have been crudely trimmed roughly along the edge of the gold-leaf border, most of the outside of which has been cut away, prior to subsequent fragmentation. In no place does the original edge of the plaque survive and there is no evidence for there ever having been an upper vessel glass layer. As a result the cut gold leaf has suffered considerable abrasion and is extremely faint in places. Iridescence and minor discolouration covers both surfaces. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** The space within the circular half disc reciprocal border (enclosing an area c. 130mm in diameter) is filled by five lines of inscription alternating with rows of lozenges. It reads EDONI FR / [cum]CARIS COIV / [t]VA IE ZESES. / O[m]NIBV[s] VENET / [ian]IS [vi]TA. Each line is ended with a terminal ornament of dots and leaves or flowers. The lower line of inscription is underlined by a comparatively large leaf-spray. The complete inscription has been transcribed as 'Edonius. Frater cum caris coniuge tua pie zesēs. Omnibus Venetianis vita'. COIV might instead read CON, and thus it has been logically transcribed as CONIUGE, meaning 'wife'.

The complete phrase is translated as 'Brother Edonius may you [and your wife?] live sweetly/pleasantly with those that are dear to you, life to all the Blues'. Dalton also suggests that 'Edonius' may be a shortened form (or perhaps with initial letters now lost) of the popular fourth-century male personal name 'Macedonius'. The complete inscription is secular in nature and includes a wish for life and health in association with the Blue Faction in the circus. It does not, as Dalton suggests, constitute an expression of congratulations to a member of the Blue faction.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 117, **no. 599**; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* XV.7055; Garrucci 1858, pp. 80-1, pl. XXXVIII.6; 1864, p. 216, pl. XXXVIII.6; Iozzi 1900, pp. 31-34, pl. VII.2; Morey 1959, p. 52, pl. XXIX, **no. 299**; Vopel 1899, no. 6. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 6. P&E 1854.7-22.11

### *Fragment with inscription enclosed border*

Bunsen collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) apparently found in an unspecified catacomb at Rome. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 14mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 18mm; T (bottom layer) 2mm; T (top layer) 3mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc Fragment; a single small shard is all that remains with only a fragment of the iconography still visible. The gold leaf is well preserved towards the centre, but is discoloured and 'silvered' at the edges. No part of the foot-ring is retained on the surviving fragment. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been discoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** All that remains of the iconography is a small portion of the circular inscription-enclosed double-band border reading [...]RV[...]. Both Vopel and Dalton suggest a possible reading of the inscription as [pet]RV[s]. Morey, however, on the basis of the traces of letters present on either side of those surviving, suggests [...]ORVA(or M)[...]. Closer examination reveals this later reading to be at the least plausible, and if correct, probably constitutes part of the phrase DIGNITAS AMICORVM, translated as 'be the pride of your friends'. Unlike PETRVS, DIGNITAS AMICORVM appears frequently within gold glass the circular inscription-enclosed double-band borders.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 130, **no. 647**; Leclercq 1923, p. 1844, no. 314; Morey 1959, p. 55, pl. XXX, **no. 329**; Vopel 1899, no. 473. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 7. P&E 1854.7-22.14

### *Lazarus in the tomb (John 11:1-44)*

Bunsen collection

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD) apparently found in an unspecified catacomb at Rome. L (of individual medallion, maximum) 25mm; W (of

individual medallion, maximum) 27mm; T (bottom layer/medallion) 5mm; T (top layer) 2mm. Dalton depicts the piece surrounded by a gilt paper mount, now lost.

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed to the line of the cobalt blue medallion. Convex obverse, flat reverse. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf, which is 'silvered' in places. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the broadly circular single band border is depicted a full-length figure, upright and wrapped in mummy-like grave costume beneath the portico of a brick built tomb or Aedicula. The tomb fronts three quarters right with two small slotted windows and a gabled porch supported by two columns. The image clearly represents Lazarus in the tomb, and originally would have been part of a sequence of medallions depicting the entire episode of the raising of Lazarus.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 123, pl. XXXI, **no. 624**; Garrucci 1858, p. 26, pl. IX.5; 1864, p. 73, pl. IX.5; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 142, pl. 178.5; Iozzi 1900, p. 17, pl. II.7; Leclercq 1923, p. 1831, no. 102, fig. 4524; Morey 1959, p. 56, pl. XXX, **no. 330**; Vopel 1899, no. 265. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 8. P&E 1854.7-22.15

*One of the three youths in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3:8-27)*

Bunsen collection

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD) apparently found in an unspecified catacomb at Rome. L (of individual medallion, maximum) 24mm; W (of individual medallion, maximum) 29mm. The medallion is surrounded by a gilt paper mount.

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed to the line of the amber glass medallion. Convex obverse, flat reverse. A number of fine cracks are evident in the

gold-leaf. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the broadly circular single band border is the full-length depiction of a beardless and youthful-looking male figure. The man stands orant, his lower body quarter-turned to the left whilst his upper body and head quarter-turned to the right of the field. He wears an oriental double-girdled tunic with a row of buttons at the front, richly embroidered trousers and a Persian cap with pendent strings. He stands amid indications of flames. In the field below each arm is depicted a single dot, and above the arms two leaf-sprays. The figure represents one of the three youths in the fiery furnace, and would have been part of a sequence of medallions illustrating the entire episode.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 123, pl. XXXI, **no. 621**; Garrucci 1864, pp. 37, pl. III.10; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 132, pl. 173.19, Iozzi 1900, pp. 8-9, pl. I.4; Leclercq 1923, p. 1829, no. 56, fig. 4522; Morey 1959, p. 55, pl. XXX, **no. 321**; Vopel 1899, no. 220. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 9. P&E 1854.7-22.16

*Jonah swallowed by the great fish (Jonah 1:17)*

Bunsen collection

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD) apparently found in an unspecified catacomb at Rome. L (of individual medallion, maximum) 26mm; W (of individual medallion, maximum) 30mm; T (bottom layer/medallion) 4mm; T (top layer) 1mm. The medallion is surrounded by a gilt paper mount.

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed in a hexagonal fashion to the line of the green glass medallion. Very slightly convex obverse, flat reverse. There are some small chips and pinprick bubbles in the glass; the reverse is slightly iridescent and discoloured. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf. The medallion is

surrounded by a gilt-edged paper mount. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the broadly circular single band border is depicted a monster in the form of a Greco-Roman *ketos*. The beast is coiled with its head in profile facing left. From its open jaws protrude the naked legs of a man as he is swallowed head first. The medallion depicts Jonah swallowed by the great fish, and constitutes one of a series of medallions depicting the entire episode.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 123, pl. XXXI, **no. 622**; Garrucci 1858, p. 13, pl. IV.2; 1864, p. 39, pl. IV.2; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 133, pl. 174.11; Iozzi 1900, pp. 10-11, pl. I.7; Leclercq 1923, p. 1829, no. 64; Morey 1959, p. 55, pl. XXX, **no. 320**; Vopel 1899, no. 228. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

#### 10. P&E 1854.7-22.17

*Daniel and the poisoned cake of pitch and fat (extended book of Daniel 14)*

Bunsen collection

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD) apparently found in an unspecified catacomb at Rome. L (of individual medallion, maximum) 19mm; W (of individual medallion, maximum) 24mm; T (bottom layer/medallion) 4mm; T (top layer) 2mm. Dalton depicts the piece surrounded by a gilt paper mount, now lost.

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been crudely trimmed to the line of the cobalt blue glass medallion. Convex obverse, flat but slightly misshapen reverse. The left and upper edge of the coloured medallion remains intact, but is broken to the bottom and right in accordance with the covering layer of glass. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf, in places the gold-leaf border is 'silvered' resultant of infiltration from broken edge. Some pinprick bubbles in the glass. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the octagonal single band border is depicted a beardless and youthful-looking male figure with short hair, wearing a tunic and walking to the left. His head is slightly lowered to look at a spherical object which he carries in both hands. In the field are depicted three leaf-sprays, one in front and two behind him. Garrucci identified the figure as a Magi making an offering to the baby Jesus, however, the figure does not wear the Phrygian cap typical of Magi portrayed in other media, who furthermore are often shown offering their gifts on trays. Dalton correctly identified the figure represented here as Daniel taking the poisoned cake of pitch and fat to slay the dragon of Babylon. Dalton's interpretation appears to be correct in comparison with a vessel base illustrating the entire episode of Daniel and the dragon of Babylon (no. 17), and also portrays Daniel carrying a spherical object in this way. The medallion and constitutes one of a series of medallions depicting the entire episode.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 123, pl. XXXI, **no. 620**; Garrucci 1858, pp. 13-14, pl. IV.11; 1864, p. 41-2, pl. IV.11; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 133, pl. 174.5; Iozzi 1900, pp. 11-12, pl. I.8; Leclercq 1923, p. 1829, no. 47; Morey 1959, p. 55, pl. XXX, **no. 322**, Vopel 1899, no. 212. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### 11. P&E 1856.4-25.1

#### *Portrait-style depiction of Saint Paul*

Hamilton collection

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome. L (of individual medallion, maximum) 23mm; W (of individual medallion, maximum) 25mm; T (bottom layer/medallion) 4mm; T (top layer) 2mm. Both Dalton and Morey state that the piece is set within a nineteenth-century gold ring. This has since been removed.

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been crudely trimmed to the line of the cobalt blue glass medallion, removing some of the gold-leaf border to the left. Convex obverse and reverse. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf which is 'silvered' in

places. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the broadly circular single band border is depicted a frontal quarter-length bust of a youthful male figure, beardless and with short hair, dressed in a tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type. His head is quarter turned to the left of the field whilst his left hand protrudes from his tunic across his breast in the gesture of speaking. In the field, positioned on either side of the bust is the inscription PAV LVS, which along with his clergy-specific costume identifies the man as Saint Paul. The medallion and constitutes one of a series of medallions depicting multiple saints.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 128, pl. XXXI, **no. 635**; Garrucci 1858, p. 35, pl. XIV.5; 1864, p. 99, pl. XIV.5; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 153, pl. 183.5; Iozzi 1900, pp. 19-20, pl. III.2; Leclercq 1923, p. 1835, no. 160, fig. 4529; Morey 1959, p. 55, pl. XXX, **no. 323**; Perret 1851-5, vol. 4, pl. XXI.2; Vopel 1899, no. 320. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 12. P&E 1859.6-18.1

*Portrait-style depiction of a secular adult female*

Robinson collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), purchased in Rome from the antiquities dealer Baseggio. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 79mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 68mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 85mm; T (bottom layer) 1mm; T (middle layer) 4mm; T (top layer) 4mm

Three layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly convex pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. The gold leaf design sandwiched between the lowermost and middle layers. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been crudely broken away roughly in accordance with the base disc. Approximately half of the foot-ring survives. The base disc has many cracks, some iridescence and discolouration obscuring the image from the reverse which is only clearly visible under very close inspection (Garrucci's line drawing is presented in Figure 35). The left hand portion is completely missing. The upper and middle layers are also heavily cracked, the former missing to the left. Both are heavily discoloured rendering the image illegible from above. The



glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular double-band inscription enclosed boarder is depicted the quarter-length bust of an adult female, dressed in tunic and palla and holding a scroll. Her head slightly turned to the left of the field and her hair is swept back behind her ears and falls in two thin curled strands on both shoulders. Above or perhaps on top of her head is a single ring. Located in the field, upon either side of her head are, to the left, a further scroll, and to the right, an open diptych. The inscription within the border reads BI[b]ASPA[re]NIB[us]TVISV[ir]OTVO, transcribed as 'bibas parentibus tuis viro tuo'. It is translated as 'drink/life to your parents [and] to your husband'. The iconography of this example was reproduced in the lower left roundel of the nineteenth-century Venetian imitation gold glass plaque now in the Corning Museum of Glass (Whitehouse 2003, pp. 94-5, no. 1043) and presumably based on the illustration provided by Garrucci.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 119, **no. 607**; Garrucci 1872-1880, vol.3, p. 186, pl. 200.5; Morey 1959, p. 57, pl. XXX, **no. 343**; Vopel 1899, no. 100. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### 13. P&E 1859.6-18.2

*Portrait-style depiction of multiple saints (Simon, Damasus, Sixtus and others now lost)*  
Robinson collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), purchased in Rome from the antiquities dealer Baseggio. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 94mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 77mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) OVAL; T (bottom layer) 3mm; T (top layer) 2mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been closely trimmed along the line of the base-disc, of which only a portion survives. The foot-ring is slightly misshapen and was caused by being unintentionally heated to a greater extent than required during the manufacturing

process. The piece is cracked vertically and on both sides causing in a large degree of discolouration obscuring the iconography, which is only clearly visible under very close inspection (Garrucci's line drawing is presented in Figure 50 of the main thesis text). A greater portion of the upper vessel glass layer survives in contrast to the base disc thus exposing the design to significant damage. The piece is heavily iridescent with many bubbles in the glass. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** The area within the single circular border is divided into trapezoidal panels, three out of an original six of which have been retained. Arranged in pairs, each panel depicts the quarter-length bust of an adult male, short-haired and beardless, and in each instance wearing the clergy-specific tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type. The clergy-specific status-laden 'omophorion' is given further prominence with over-painted red enamel. Akin to more complete examples (e.g. Morey 1959, pl. VI, no. 38) Dalton and Morey both identify a central circle from which the panels radiate. Morey further describes it as enclosing a bust wearing a tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type. No trace of this now remains, neither is it shown by Garrucci who provides the earliest illustrations of the piece.

The first bust is identified by the associated name label [si]M ON, the second by the label DAM AS. Vopel reads SVS beside the third bust and these letters are clearly visible in the illustration provided by Garrucci, Dalton reads only S. Nothing is now visible, however on the basis of previous observation the accompanying label can be reconstructed as SVS [tvs]. In each instance the labels are positioned vertically in the field on either side of each bust. DAMAS has long been identified with Pope Damasus I (bishop of Rome between 366 and 384 AD). As each figure is depicted wearing clergy-specific costume, Simon might reasonably be identified with the early fourth-century saint of that name (his feast day is recorded on the 27<sup>th</sup> October in the *Roman Martyrology*) as having been martyred during the persecutions of Diocletian. The figure SVSTVS probably represents the martyred Pope Sixtus II (bishop of Rome between 257 and 258 AD).

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 130, **no. 642**; Garrucci 1864, p. 144, pl. XXV.8; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 175, pl.194.8; Leclercq 1923, p. 1841, no. 267; Morey 1959, p. 56, pl. XXX, **no. 340**; Vopel 1899, no. 426. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

#### **14. P&E 1859.6-18.3**

*Portrait-style depiction of a secular man (Amachius)*

Robinson collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), purchased in Rome from the antiquities dealer Baseggio. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 56mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 57mm; T (bottom layer) 3mm; T (top layer) 1mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc with low foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel, of which now only a fraction survives, has been crudely trimmed to retain only the central depiction. Traces of a circular foot-ring are visible, but too little survives to conjecture the diameter. The majority of the upper layer of glass has been lost; as a result, the gold leaf applied to the base-disc is highly abraded. The upper left and lower right portions of the base-disc have been lost since the piece was illustrated by Buonarruoti in 1716 and Garrucci in 1858 (illustrated in Figure 36a-b in the main thesis text). Heavy iridescence is present on both surfaces. There are many pinprick bubbles in the glass, which is furthermore severely discoloured. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been discoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** The object is very badly damaged and in its current state all but illegible. Both the illustrations of Buonarruoti in 1716 and that of Garrucci far later in 1858 depict the piece as somewhat worn, but nevertheless in a far better state of preservation than that in which it currently appears. Easily discernable and centrally positioned within the double square border enclosing a reciprocal pattern of half-circles is the three-quarter length bust of a single short-haired and beardless male figure. His head is slightly turned to the left of the field. He wears what appears to be a toga contabulata and carries a curved staff. Garrucci depicts the staff as shaded, his usual convention for indicating over-painted red enamelled detail. In the field, aligned

to the square border and surrounding the figure is the inscription AMACHIDVL CISVIVASCVM CARIS TVIS, the most convincing reading being 'Amachi dulcis vivas cum caris tuis', translated as 'Amachi may you live sweetly/pleasantly with those that are dear to you'.

The figure carries a short curved pedum, the badge of office of a pagan augur or priest. Dressed as a pagan priest, the Amachius depicted on this gold glass may reasonably be associated with the pagan Flavius Amachius, governor of Phrygia from 361 to 363 AD (Jones *et al.* 1971, p. 50). In the Roman world, only men of high social rank could attain the rank of augur and, as a provincial governor responsible for the attempted revival of paganism (Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History, Book III Chapter 15, Martyrs at Merum in Phrygia, under Julian*, translated in Schaff 1886, pp. 164-5), Flavius Amachius would certainly have been eligible.

**References:** Buonarruoti 1716, pp. 127-8, pl. XIX.1; Dalton 1901b, p. 118, **no. 604**; Garrucci 1858, p. 62, pl. XXXII.4; 1864, p. 167-8, pl. XXXII.4, 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 200.4; Leclercq 1923, p. 1850, no. 413; Morey 1959, p. 52, pl. XXIX, **no. 301**; Vopel 1899, no. 72. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 15. P&E 1859.6-18.4

*Fragment with a scroll*

Robinson collection

Cut and incised technique gilt-glass plaque (c. 360-400 AD), purchased in Rome from the antiquities dealer Baseggio. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 33mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 42mm; T (bottom layer) 3mm

Single layer of greenish colourless blown glass. Single un-diagnostic fragment; in no place does the original edge of the plaque survive and there is no evidence for there ever having been an upper glass layer. As a result, the gold leaf is abraded but nonetheless visible. Some iridescence is present on both surfaces. The view of the image is not inhibited from above. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** Within the single circular band border, all that remains of the iconography is a scroll, partly unravelled to reveal markings representative of text. The string or seal on the scroll is over-painted in red enamel. In the field, curved in accordance with the circular border the remainder of the inscription reads [...]ES. In 1901 Dalton read [...]IES, whereas in 1864 Garrucci tentatively read NES, which he reconstructed as [hilares om]NES, 'cheerful/joyful wishes'. This phrase is not paralleled on any gold glass from the published Corpuses of either Morey or Garrucci, however. Only a small fragment of the circular band border survives. It is likely, however, to be a single rather than a double band border as the inscription appears within the field.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 130, **no. 645**; Garrucci 1864, p. 168, pl. XXXII.8; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 186, pl. 200.8; Leclercq 1923, p. 1843, no. 305; Morey 1959, p. 52, pl. XXIX, **no. 297**; Vopel 1899, no. 464. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 16. P&E 1859.6-18.5

*Illegible*

Robinson collection

Unintelligible cut and incised technique fragment (c. 360-400 AD), purchased in Rome from the antiquities dealer Baseggio. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 16mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 23mm; T (bottom layer) 4mm

Single layer of greenish colourless blown glass. Single un-diagnostic fragment; in no place does the original edge of the plaque survive and there is no evidence for there ever having been an upper glass layer, as such, the gold leaf is badly abraded. Some iridescence is present on both surfaces and there is some minor discolouration. Neither, however, inhibits the view of the image. Some internal strain cracks are visible within the glass. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** Diagonal patterning appears between and on either side of two thicker, possibly downward, lines. The fragment is too small and in two poorly

preserved to identify the original iconographic depiction, however, which remains illegible.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 130, **no. 649**; Leclercq 1923, p. 1844, no. 316; Morey 1959, p. 59, **no. 351**. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### **17. P&E 1863.7-27.1**

*Daniel and the dragon of Babylon (extended book of Daniel 14)*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 86mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 88mm; D (of foot-ring) 86mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been very closely trimmed away in accordance with the base-disc, all of which survives. Both surfaces are covered with a very light iridescent film, which does not inhibit the iconography. The base-disc is cracked vertically and to the right. The gold leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. A half circular score appears in the gold leaf in the bottom of the field. This is the result of the inadvertent touching of the hot surface of the decorated base-disc with a stick in an attempt to move the object prior to the fusing of the upper glass layer. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** The scene has been universally interpreted as Daniel slaying the dragon of Babylon with the poisoned cake of pitch and fat. Within the square band reciprocal border of half-circles with an embellished pyramidal projection in the centre of each side is the full length depiction of two adult male figures, both of which are short-haired and beardless. To the left of the field, the first man has a plain nimbus and wears a tunic and pallium, the latter held in this right hand, whilst in his left hand he holds a rod. Appearing in the centre of the field, the second figure identified as Daniel wears a sleeved tunic and chlamys and is portrayed as moving to

the right. His body is quarter-turned to the right of the scene; however, his head is turned backwards towards the rod-wielding figure and is perhaps in receipt of instruction. In his outstretched arms, Daniel holds a spherical object representing the poisoned cake of pitch and fat.

To the far right of the scene is depicted the dragon of Babylon, with a long sinuous neck and crested head. It rises from a pile of rocks facing the second figure and bites at the spherical object held. In the field above the dragon is depicted a lenticular leaf and disc, interpreted here as simple space-fillers. The rod-wielding figure is unattested in the scriptural account. He has nonetheless been identified by every publication to include this object as Christ as Logos, placing the episode within a Christian contexts.

**References:** Dalton 1901a, p. 238, pl. III; 1901b, pp. 122-123, pl. XXIX, **no. 619**; Franks, 1864, pp. 381-2, no. 1; Garrucci 1858, p. 12, pl. III.13; 1864, p. 38, pl. III.13; 1872-1880, vol. 3, pp. 131-2, pl. 173.14; Iozzi 1900, p. 10, pl. I.6; Morey 1959, p. 57, pl. XXX, **no. 345**; Vopel 1899, p. 67, no. 206. Exhibited: *Picturing the Bible* 2007, p. 222, no. 48

## **18. P&E 1863.7-27.2**

*Moses striking the rock (Exodus 17:1-6 and Numbers 20:8 )*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 78mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 72mm; D (of foot-ring) 80mm; T (bottom layer) 4mm; T (top layer) 3mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and a high outward-curving fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been crudely trimmed along the line of the base-disc, the majority of which is intact. The upper surface is heavily iridescent, greatly obscuring the image, which is more visible when viewed from below (Garrucci's line drawing is presented in Figure 59 in the main thesis text). There is some minor discolouration to the top and right of the gold-leaf, which is otherwise well preserved

but with fine cracks throughout. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the single-band square border is depicted a full-length man to the right of the field moving towards the left. He is beardless and short-haired, with his head turned slightly inward. He wears a tunic and pallium, the latter held in this right hand, whilst in his left hand he holds a rod. In the field above his right shoulder is depicted a scroll, probably intended as a space-filler. The figure is depicted with his left arm outstretched striking the rod against the top of a rock, appearing on the left of the field, from which a stream of water flows. Below the rock is depicted a youthful short-haired male figure, wearing a tunic and kneeling with his hands outstretched to the water. In the centre of the field, between the rod-wielding figure and the rock, is depicted a single tree. Aligned with the outside edges of the border is the inscription *HILARIS IN DEO CUM TVIS PISCEBUS*, translated as 'joyfulness in God with you and yours, drink that you may live'.

The scene depicted is synonymous with the Biblical episode of Moses striking the rock, and it has been identified as such by both Dalton and Morey. That the episode is devoid of any specific identifying inscription might suggest that the episode was intended to be viewed in the context of both Moses and Peter, baptising his jailors in the Mamertine prison, discussed in Chapter Seven. The iconography of this example was reproduced in a nineteenth-century Venetian imitation gold glass (Pillinger 1984, fig. 231c) presumably based on the illustration provided by Garrucci.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 122, **no. 617**; Franks 1864, p. 382, no. 2; Garrucci 1858, p. 11, pl. II.10; 1864, p. 34-5, pl. II.10; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 129, pl. 172.9; Iozzi, 1900, p. 7, pl. I.3; Leclercq 1923, p. 1827, no. 23; Morey 1959, p. 53-4, pl. XXIX, **no. 312**; San-Clementi 1808-9, vol.3, pl. XLII.5; Vopel 1899, no. 188. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED



### 19. P&E 1863.7-27.3

*Portrait-style depiction of a 'married couple' (Orfitus and Constantia)*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 108mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 101mm; D (of foot-ring) OVAL

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave oval pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been very closely trimmed away in accordance with the base-disc, all of which survives. There is some fine cracking in the gold-leaf. Light iridescence is also apparent on underside of base disc and around the trimmed edge of bottom. There are a few bubbles in the glass. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the double band inscription-enclosed border are depicted the two quarter-length busts of a 'married couple'. To the right of the field is depicted an adult male, beardless and short-haired. He wears a toga contabulata and tunic with a red enamel over-painted strip (clavus) on his right shoulder. To the left of the field is an adult female, her face framed by the curls of her hair, which is plaited over the cranium and behind the head and terminating in projecting roles at the tape of the neck with enamel over-painted earrings. Around her neck she wears a complex jewelled collar comprising of four rows, two of small red enamel over-painted representations of stones, one of greenish white over-painted oblong plaques and below, a row of white enamel over-painted pendants. These possibly represent pearls. She wears a tunic and dress in a similar generic style to her husband's toga. The hands of each figure are represented by generic rolls of costume.

At shoulder height, between the couple on a dish-shaped stand, is depicted a full-length beaded male figure representing Hercules, half turned to the right. He is dressed in the skin of the Nemean lion, acquired after the completion of the first of his twelve labours, and holds a club in his right hand. In his left hand he holds three apples of the Hesperides, over-painted in green enamel. The apples represent Hercules' final

task, plucked from the tree planted from the golden apples given to Zeus and Hera as a wedding present by the earth goddess Gaia. They thus represent symbols of marriage and fertility.

The inscription enclosed within the double-band border reads ORFITVS.ET CONSTANTIA.IN NOMINE HERCVLIS, and translates as 'Orfitus and Constantia, in the name of Hercules'. The additional inscription in the field reads ACERENTINO FELICES BIBATIS. The most plausible translation is 'enjoy the wine of Acerentia'. The dedicatory inscription itself is unusual in that it deviates from the standard set of generic wishes for life and health apparent upon almost all other examples of cut and incised gold glass published within the extensive catalogues of Garrucci and Morey. Acerentia (modern day Acerenza) is a small Italian town situated on the border of Lucania and Apulia, a known fourth-century wine producing region and with its own cult of Hercules. The couple probably represent Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, prefect of Rome in 354 to 359, and his wife. Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus is the only Orfitus known from the fourth century, and, like the man in the gold glass, was a pagan (Cameron 1996).

**References:** Cameron 1996; Cavedoni 1859, p. 34-5, pl. XXXV.1; Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XV.7036; Dalton 1901a, p. 225, pl. I; 1901b pp. 119-20, pl. XXIX, **no. 608**; Deville 1873, pl. XLVIII; Dillon 1907, pl. X; Franks 1864, p. 383-4, no. 10; Garrucci 1858, p. 69-70, pl.XXXV.1; 1864, p. 186-8 pl. XXXV.1; Iozzi 1900, p. 28-30, pl. VI.3; Leclercq 1923, pp. 1853-1854, no. 457, fig. 4548; Morey 1959, p. 54, pl. XXIX, **no. 316**; Passeri 1739-51, vol. 3, pl. XCII; Pelka 1901 p. 104; San-Clementi 1808-9, vol. 3, p. 202; Vopel 1899, p. 230, no. 133. Exhibited: *Byzantium* 1994, pp. 31-2 no. 9b; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 280, no. 155; *Masterpieces* 1968, no. 90

## 20. P&E 1863.7-27.4

*Portrait-style depiction of Saints Peter and Paul*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 108mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 101mm; D (of foot-ring) OVAL

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. The vessel base is lower than the foot-ring; this means that the bowl could not have been stable when placed on a flat surface. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been crudely trimmed away in accordance with the base-disc, all of which survives. More of the vessel wall on this example survives than is normally the case on the majority of gold glasses, and indicates that the vessel was probably a shallow bowl. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. Some iridescence is present on both surfaces and there is some minor discolouration. Neither, however, inhibits the view of the image. There are many pinprick bubbles in the glass. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the double-band inscription-enclosed border are depicted the half-length busts of saints Peter and Paul, labelled P ET RV S and P A VLV S to the left and right of the field respectively. Their bodies are depicted frontally whilst their heads are shown in profile facing one-another. Depicted identically, they both have half-bald heads and curving pointed-beards and wear the clergy specific tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type fastened by a circular brooch on the breast. At shoulder height between the heads of the two busts is a diminutive full-length frontal depiction of a youthful male figure, probably representing Christ, his head facing forward. His head flanked by two dots, Christ is beardless and youthful-looking with long hair falling onto his shoulders. He wears a wide-sleeved tunic and pallium and holds a crown above the heads of the two male busts.

The inscription within the double-band border, reads 'BICVLIVS.DIGN[itas] [a]MICORVM VIV ASPIEZESES (dot)'. It is translated as 'Bicilius, the pride of your friends, may you live as you should, drink that you may live'. Dalton notes that Bicilius is an unusual name, and tentatively suggests that it is an abbreviation for 'Buculeus' or 'Bucolus'. Vopel suggests 'Vigilius'.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, pp. 128-129, pl. XXIX, **no. 636**; Franks 1864, p. 382, no. 3; Garrucci 1858, p. 34, pl. XII.4; 1864, p. 95, pl. XII.4; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 151, pl. 181.4; Huskinson 1982, pp. 129-132, fig. 34; Iozzi 1900, p. 14, pl. II.6; Leclercq 1923, p. 1836,

no. 175, fig. 4530; Morey 1959, p. 54, pl. XXIX, **no. 314**; Vopel 1899, p. 82, no. 333.  
Exhibited: *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 285, no. 160

## 21. P&E 1863.7-27.5

*Portrait-style depiction of a 'Family group' (Severa [or Severus], Cosmas and Lea)*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 81mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 83mm; T (of lower layer) 1mm; T (of upper layer) 3mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc, no portion of the foot-ring survives. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been closely trimmed roughly in accordance with the iconographic border. The right and upper left of the outside edge of the border and also most probably the foot-ring, which would have had to have been exceptionally high to allow the vessel to stand freely, has been trimmed away. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. Some minor iridescence is present on both surfaces but this does not inhibit the view of the image. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular reciprocal border of triangles is depicted the three half-length busts of a 'family group'. To the right of the field is an adult male, short haired and beardless, turned slightly inwards towards the centre. He wears a toga contabulata. His right hand, with first two fingers extended, appears across his chest in the gesture of speech and address. To the left, an adult female, turned slightly inwards, dressed in a tunic and palla, a wide jewelled collar, necklace and earrings. Her face is framed by the curls of her hair, which is plaited over the cranium and behind the head and terminating in projecting roles at the tape of the neck. Between the pair is portrayed a female child. Depicted frontally, the child is dressed in a similar manner to her mother, but lacks the wide jewelled collar and has her hair drawn up in a knot, or possibly a ring, on the top of her head. Above the shoulders and between the heads of the two adult figures is the chi-rho monogram

with re-entrant strokes at the terminals, flanked by two dots. Above the chi-rho, is depicted a floating crown taking the form of a 'wreath with lemnisci'.

In the field, curved in accordance with the circular border, is the inscription SEBERECOSMASLEAZES ES, translated as 'Severa [or Severus] Cosmas lea, drink/live'. Vopel suggests that the name of the child, Lea, indicates that the family is of Jewish origin. Dalton reads SEBERE as Severa, the name of the woman who is depicted directly underneath. Garrucci, however, reads it as the vocative of 'Severus', taking 'Cosmas' as the female name and interpreting the inscription to be a generic wish for life and health, supported by the final word ZESES (life), and not simply as name labels associated with each figure.

**References:** D'Agincourt 1823, p. 26, pl. XII; Dalton 1901b, p. 120, pl. XXVIII, **no. 610**; Franks 1864, p. 383, no. 9; Garrucci 1858, p. 59, pl. XXIX.5; 1864, p. 159, pl. XXIX.5; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 183, pl. 198.5, Leclercq 1923, p. 1855, no. 463; Morey 1959, p. 54, pl. XXIX, **no. 315**; Pelka 1901, p. 154; San-Clementi 1808-9, vol. 3, pl. XLIV.4; Vopel 1899, p. 83, no. 119. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 22. P&E 1863.7-27.6

*Portrait-style depiction of Christ surrounded by unnamed saints*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 78mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 90mm; T (of lower layer) 2.5mm; T (of upper layer) 2mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been trimmed in order to retain the iconography. The foot-ring survives only as a fractured edge to the left and right. Some minor iridescence is present on both surfaces and some blackish discolouration at the top, but neither inhibits the view of the image. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. A half circular score appears in the gold leaf in the right of the field. This is

the result of the inadvertent touching of the hot surface of the decorated base-disc with a stick in an attempt to move the object prior to the fusing of the upper glass layer. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the single line square border is a further single line square set diagonally to it. The field is thus divided into a central lozenge area, and four smaller triangular segments comprising the angles of the outer square. Beyond lower edge and two sides of the outer square border is a triangle with an outwards facing apex. A third triangle is likely to have been present above the upper edge; however, the glass in this area has since been lost. Within the central field is the quarter-length bust of a clean-shaven youthful portrait-style depiction of Christ, identified by the label CRIS TVS. Christ's hair is short at the front and long at the back, falling in curls upon his shoulders. He is dressed in the clergy-specific tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type, fastened by a circular medallion, possibly indicating a brooch, upon his breast. His head is turned slightly towards the left of the field and is flanked by two small dots. Above each shoulder appears one large dot. Serving as a space-filler, a further small dot appears above his head. Within each of the angles of the outer square are depicted identical single quarter-length busts of short haired and beardless men, flanked by two dots again acting as space-fillers. They are all unidentified by inscription and undistinguished in appearance, and in each instance their heads are quarter-turned towards the left of the field. The accompanying figures are apparently dressed in the same clergy-specific costume as Christ.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 127, pl. XXVII, **no. 630**; Franks 1864, p. 383, no. 6; Garrucci 1858, p. 39-40, pl. XVIII.1; 1864, p. 108-11, pl.XVIII.1; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 158, pl. 187.1; Iozzi, 1900, p. 22, pl. IV.2; Leclercq 1923, p. 1834, no. 135; Morey 1959, pp. 53-54, pl. XXIX, **no. 630**; San-Clementi 1808-9, pl. XLII.9; Torr, 1898, p. 5, fig. 2; Vopel 1899, no. 297. Exhibited: *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 283, no. 158; *Picturing the Bible* 2007, p. 219, no. 45; *Masterpieces* 1968, no. 91

### 23. P&E 1863.7-27.7

*Portrait-style depiction of a 'family group' (Pompeiane and Theodora)*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 90mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 104mm; D (of foot-ring) 130mm; T (of lower layer) 2mm; T (of upper layer) 3mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. The vessel base is lower than the foot-ring; this means that the bowl could not have been stable when places on a flat surface. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been crudely trimmed along the line of the base-disc. The foot-ring is largely broken and remains only in small portions. The glass is heavily cracked on the reverse. Morey depicts the piece as two separate fragments, but it has since been repaired. Heavy discolouration resultant of the semi-circular cracking obscures the depiction, which is only clearly visible under very close inspection. (Garrucci's line drawing is presented in Figure 43). Some iridescence and bubbles in the glass. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the double band border enclosing foliate patterns are depicted the full-length portrait-style depictions of a male adult and child and female adult and child, constituting a 'family group', and standing between two trees. The man stands to the right of the field, half turned towards the centre. He is beardless and wears a toga contabulata and sandals. His left hand rests on the shoulder of the girl standing before him. His right hand rests on the left shoulder of the woman. The girl carries a scroll and wears a paenula or planeta with embroidered vertical stripes down the front and embroidered shoes. Her right hand is extended towards the male child. To the left stands the adult female, half turned to the left, her face framed by the curls of her hair. She wears a narrow necklace and is dressed in a richly embroidered tunic. She rests her left hand on the left shoulder of the boy. The boy wears a long tunic with circular ornaments on the left shoulder and knees, and boots. In his left

hand, he holds a partly opened scroll incised to imitate text, and his right hand is extended as if speaking. Between the heads of the two children is a chi-rho monogram.

In the field between the heads of the two adult figures is the inscription: POMPEIA NETEOD ORAVIBA TIS, Pompeiane Theodora vibatis, translated as 'Pompeianus Theodora live'. The names most probably relate only to the adult figures. Cameron (1996, p. 300) tentatively, but perhaps fancifully, suggests an identification with Insteius Pompeianus, suffect consul during the early fourth century and known to have been a Christian from a poem on his tombstone (Jones *et al.* 1971, p. 713). However, a suitable identification for any of the figures depicted is not apparent.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 120, pl. XXIX, **no. 609**; Franks 1864, p. 383, no. 8; Garrucci 1858, p. 58-9, pl. XXIX.4; 1864, pp. 158-9, pl. XXIX.4; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 183, pl. 198.4; Iozzi 1900, p. 25, pl. V.4; Kraus 1882-1886, vol. 1, p. 385, fig. 131; Kraus 1896, vol. 1, p. 167; Leclercq 1923, pp. 1822 & 1854, no. 460, fig. 4549; Morey 1959, p. 53, pl. XXIX, **no. 308-309**; Pelka, 1901, p. 155; San-Clementi 1808-9, p. 192; Vopel 1899, no. 116. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 24. P&E 1863.7-27.8

*Portrait-style depiction of Saints Peter and Paul seated in conversation*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 118mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 121mm; D (of foot-ring) 150mm; T (of lower layer) 1mm; T (of upper layer) 3mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. The vessel base is lower than the foot-ring; this means that the bowl could not have been stable when placed on a flat surface. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been crudely trimmed along the line of the base-disc. The majority of the foot-ring has been retained, although portions are missing to the lower left and right, and to the upper left. The piece is



cracked diagonally in three separate instances. More of the vessel wall on this example survives than is normally the case on the majority of gold glasses, and indicates that the vessel was probably a shallow bowl. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. The iconography is largely obscured (though not rendered illegible) from above, and to a far lesser extent from below, by a pinkish film between the two layers of glass. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular reciprocal border of half circles are portrayed the full-length depictions of two adult male figures, short haired and beardless, seated on folding stools with wide tapering legs. In the field behind the head and shoulder of each figure, curved in accordance with the circular border, the figure to the left is labelled PETRVS, Saint Peter, and the figure to the right PAVLVS, Saint Paul. Both are depicted three-quarter turned toward one another. They both have crossed legs and wear a plain tunic and pallium. Peter rests his left hand on his lap whilst his right hand is extended towards Paul, as if in speaking. Paul holds a scroll with both hands over his breast. In the field between their heads is a wreath of oak leaves with attached ribbons enclosing a leaf-spray.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 129, pl. XXIX, **no. 637**; Franks 1864, p. 382, no. 4; Garrucci 1858, p. 35, pl. XIV.4; 1864, p. 98-9, pl. XIV.4; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 153, pl. 183.4; Iozzi 1900, p. 19, pl. III.1; Leclercq 1923, p. 1837, no. 186; Morey 1959, p. 57, pl. XXX, **no. 341**; San-Clementi 1808-9, vol. 3, pl. XLI.3; Vopel 1899, no. 344. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 25. P&E 1863.7-27.9

*Portrait-style depiction of multiple saints (Peter, Paul, Sixtus, Laurence, Hippolytus, Christ and Timothy)*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 97mm; W (of remaining

fragment, maximum) 95mm; D (of foot-ring) OVAL; T (of lower layer) 2mm; T (of upper layer) 4mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been roughly trimmed along the line of the base-disc. More of the vessel wall on this example survives than is normally the case on the majority of gold glasses, and indicates that the vessel was probably a shallow bowl. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with many fine cracks throughout. Some iridescence is present on both surfaces and there is some minor discolouration. The left hand side of the iconography is inhibited by iridescence and discolouration at the point where the base-disc is cracked and broken. There are some internal cracks and many pinprick bubbles in the glass. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** The field within the circular single line border is divided into two parts by a horizontal line slightly thinner than that of the border. The upper portion is divided into four broadly equal panels by three spirally fluted columns with foliated capitals, perhaps in attempt to represent Solomonic columns with Corinthian capitals. These are joined at the tops by a festoon-like curtain, which is further depicted as hanging from the outside edges of the first and third columns. A full-length frontal depiction of a single beardless male figure is portrayed within each of the panels.

The first figure wears a tunic and pallium, draped over his left lower arm, his head half-turned slightly downwards to his left. With his left (bottom) and right hands, the first two fingers of which are elongated (top), he holds a scroll. The remaining three figures are all depicted identically, with the exception that their heads are all half-turned slightly downwards to their right. Leaf-spray space-fillers are present between the legs and underneath the right arm of each figure. The first and fourth figures are slightly cramped, the size of the panels here being inhibited by the circular boarder. The second third and fourth figures are labelled PAVLVS (Saint Paul), SVSTVS (Saint Sixtus) and LAVRENTIVS (Saint Laurence) respectively. The glass in the area of the first panel is

damaged, rendering any name label now illegible. Considering that the second figure, directly facing the first represents Paul, it is highly likely that the first figure is intended to represent Peter, completing the most commonly depicted pairing in gold glass. In the field above the column tops is the generic Latinized Greek inscription PIE ZESES, 'drink that you may live'.

Within the lower portion of the field are depicted three frontal half-length male busts. All are bearded and with half-bald heads. The first and third figures are depicted wearing tunic and pallium, apparently of 'omophorion' type from which their fingers protrude. Their heads, the first more rounded and with a shorter beard than that of his counterpart, are depicted in profile, facing inwards towards the central figure. The central figure is also shown dressed in tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type draped over his left lower arm, and holding a scroll in the same manner as the upper four figures. He is also bearded and balding. Unlike those flanking him, whose heads are depicted in profile, the central figure is depicted fully frontal, unusual in portrait-style depictions on gold glass. Each figure is labelled to the left of their heads: IPPOLITVS (Saint Hippolytus); CRISTVS (Christ); and TIMOTEVS (Saint Timothy) respectively. To the left, behind the head of Timothy is depicted a scroll. Together with his longer beard and appearance to the left of the field, the side with higher connotations of status, this may be intended as a further marker of superiority over Hippolytus.

The bald bearded portrait-style depictions of Timothy and, with a slightly longer beard, Hippolytus, closely resemble depictions of Peter and Paul (see especially Garrucci 1858, pl. XII.7) rather than other clean-shaven and more youthful representations of Timothy (e.g. British Museum piece number **28**; Vatican Museum inv. no. 772 (ex-447); Morey 1959, pl. XII, no. 74) and Hippolytus (e.g. Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio inv. no. 4567; Morey 1959, pl. XXVIII, no. 278) on other every other example of gold glass in the extensive catalogues of Morey and Garrucci. The bearded and bald depiction of Christ as an old man is also unusual, this being the only instance occurring in both gold glass and all other contemporary media known to me. Franks suggested that these three figures, Christ in particular, had been mislabelled. Because the labels appear so clearly relating to each figure, and are in no instances misspelled, a mistake seems highly unlikely. Vopel notes that the Saints portrayed together on this example share

the month of August for their feast days: Sixtus: 6<sup>th</sup> August; Laurence: 10<sup>th</sup> August; Hippolytus: 13<sup>th</sup> August; Timothy 22<sup>nd</sup> August.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, pp. 127-128, pl. XXIX, **no. 632**; Dillon 1907, pl. X; Franks 1864, p. 383, no. 5; Garrucci, 1858, p. 38, pl. XVII.2; 1864, p. 105, pl. XVII.2; 1872-1880, vol. 3, pp. 156-157, pl. 186.2; Iozzi 1900, p. 21, pl. IV.1; Leclercq 1923, p. 1834, no. 143, fig. 4528; Morey 1959, p. 57, pl. XXX. **no. 344**; Roller 1881, vol. II, pl. LXXVII.2; San-Clementi 1808-9, vol. 3, pl. XLI.1; Vopel 1899, pp. 90-91, no. 305. Exhibited: *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 284, no. 159; *Masterpieces* 1968, no. 92

## 26. P&E 1863.7-27.10

### *Jewish symbols*

#### Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 64mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 79mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 105mm; T (of lower layer) 2mm; T (of upper layer) 4mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been trimmed (possibly in hexagonal or octagonal fashion) roughly along the line of the base-disc, slightly over half of which has been lost. The piece is cracked vertically. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. Some iridescence is present on both surfaces and there is some minor discolouration. Neither, however, inhibits the view of the image. There are many pinprick bubbles in the glass. There are some internal cracks and many pinprick bubbles in the glass. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** The iconography of this piece is unmistakably Jewish. Within the circular double-band inscription enclosed border, the field is divided into two by a single horizontal line. The bottom half of the field contains, in the centre, a seven-branched candlestick with foliate branches (the menorah). To the left of the

candlestick is depicted an amphorae or oil jar, beside which is a single dot, a circular cake or unleavened bread, below which is a leaf spray, and a horn (shofar). To the right of the candlestick are a citrus fruit (ethrog), and a bundle of branches (lulav), to the right of which is a single dot. The remains of the fragmentary inscription within the border reads '[...]LV.PIE.ZESES.[...]', translated as the generic phrase '[...] drink that you may live [...]']'.

The upper half of the field has been broken away and the remaining iconography is illegible. Nevertheless, other surviving gold glasses with unmistakably Jewish iconography also invariably include a separate register illustrating the Torah-shrine, depicted as an open cabinet with scrolls arranged on its shelves and flanked either by doves (e.g. Schüler 1966, no. 6), or, more commonly by lions (e.g. Schüler 1966, nos. 4 & 5). As such, we can reasonably assume that the upper register of the British Museum piece also depicted the Torah-shrine.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 121, pl. XXVII, **no. 615**; Frey 1936, no. 519; Goodenough 1953, vol. 2, p. 111, no. 970; Garrucci 1858, p. 14, pl. V.4; 1864, p. 43, pl. V.4; 1872-1880, vol. 6, p. 158, pl. 490.4; Iozzi 1900, pp. 14-15, pl. II.1; Leclercq 1923, p. 1857, no. 509; Morey 1959, p. 57, pl. XXX, **no. 346**; San-Clementi 1808-9, vol. 3, pl. XLII.10; Schüler 1966, p. 60, no. 9, fig. 20; Vopel 1899, no. 164. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## **27. P&E 1863.7-27.11**

*Portrait-style depictions of a 'married couple ([...]ane and Tzucinv)*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 72mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 80mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 75mm; T (of lower layer) 1mm; T (of upper layer) 3mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. The vessel base is lower than the foot-ring; this means that the bowl could not have been stable when placed on a flat surface. Fragment; the

piece comprises of two separate fragments. The wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom carefully trimmed along the line of the base-disc, which has been broken and mended. The upper left of the base-disc is missing. The upper surface of glass is dulled and with some iridescence. There is also some discolouration on the underside and between the layers of the glass, partially obscuring the decoration, which is more visible when viewed on a black background (Figure 39 in the main thesis text). There are pin-prick bubbles in the glass and the gold-leaf has many fine cracks. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular single-line border are depicted two half-length busts of a 'married couple'. To the right, an adult male is depicted, beardless and with short curly hair. He wears a toga contabulata and holds a scroll with both hands; the first two fingers of his right hand are extended, perhaps incorporating the gesture of speech and teaching. The woman appears on the left, slightly concealed and overlapped by the right arm of the male figure. Her face is framed by the curls of her hair below a thin band or possibly a diadem, neatly drawn back in plaits and finishes on the crown of her head coiled in a net. She is dressed in a tunic engraved with spirals to suggest a embroidered richly-patterned dress and holds a scroll with both hands; the fingers of her right hand are extended in a similar manner to the male figure. A space-filling flower spray is depicted on either side of the couple.

At shoulder height between the two busts is depicted a full length depiction of a male naked winged figure, beardless and with short curly hair. This figure has crossed legs and hands outstretched behind the heads of the couple. His face is turned towards the female figure, whilst his body is slightly turned towards the male. Originally identified by Garrucci as an angel, it has since been reinterpreted by Dalton as a winged Cupid, depicted as a youth (see also Walter 1979, p. 84). In the field, curved in accordance with the inner edge of the border, is the inscription [...]NE. TZVCINVS. BIBITE, the text punctuated with heart shaped leaves. Garrucci reads [...]ANE. The most convincing reading and translation of the inscription is '[...]ane Tzucinvs drink/live'. Tzucinvs thus constitutes the personal name of the male figure; presumably the obscured word preceding it named the female. Tzucinus, is neither Roman nor Greek in origin.

Cameron uses the unfamiliarity of the name to make the assumption that he could not have been a person of rank (Cameron 1996, p. 300).

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 121, pl. XXVIII, **no. 612**; Garrucci 1858, p. 57-8, pl. XXVIII.6; 1864, p. 156, pl. XVIII.6; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 181, pl.197.6; Iozzi 1900, pp. 24-25, pl. V.3; Leclercq 1923, p. 1855, no. 469; Morey 1959, p. 53, pl. XXIX, **no. 311**; Vopel 1899, no.125. Exhibited: *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 281, no. 156

## **28. P&E 1863.7-27.12**

*Portrait-style depiction of Saints Sixtus and Timothy*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 66mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 65mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 75mm; T (of lower layer) 4mm; T (of upper layer) 3mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been closely but roughly trimmed along the line of the base-disc, three quarters of which is intact. The piece is cracked through diagonally and there is a large chip in the base disc. Some iridescence is present on both surfaces and there is discolouration predominantly to the lower right in the area of the fracture. Neither inhibits the view of the image. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the thick single-band circular border are depicted two men, both are depicted as clean shaven quarter-length busts turned slightly to face each other, the figure on the left slightly overlapping the one on the right. Both wear the clergy-specific tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type and have full heads of closely cropped hair. Between their heads is depicted a small leaf-spray space-filler. In

the field, curved in accordance with the border is the inscription SVST VSTIMO TEVS, identifying the figures as Saints Sixtus and Timothy respectively.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 129, pl. XXVIII, **no. 641**; Garrucci 1858, p. 52, pl. XXIV.1; 1864, p. 139, pl. XXIV.1; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p.173, pl. 193.1; Iozzi 1900, p. 24, pl. V.2; Leclercq 1923, p. 1840, no. 253, fig. 4531; Morey 1959, p. 54, pl. XXIX, **no. 313**, San-Clementi 1808-9, vol. 3, pl. XLII.8. Exhibited: *Masterpieces* 1968, no. 93

## 29. P&E 1863.7-27.13

*Portrait-style depiction of Christ with a figural border of saints*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 74mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 77mm; T (of lower layer) 1mm; T (of middle layer) 2mm; T (of upper layer) 4mm

Three layers of greenish colourless blown glass with markedly concave base-disc. The gold leaf design sandwiched between the lowermost and middle layers. Fragment; the walls of the vessel have been broken all around removing border and much of the iconography. Only the centre remains intact. The foot-ring, which would have had to have been considerably high for the vessel to stand freely, has also been completely removed. On the reverse, the lower layer is cracked towards the bottom. Infiltration between the upper most layers has caused in severe discolouration of the iconography closest to the break. The image is far clearer when viewed from the reverse. There are some bubbles in glass and fine cracks in the gold leaf throughout. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the central circle is the quarter-length bust of a clean-shaven youthful portrait-style depiction of Christ, identified by the label CRIS TVS. Christ's head is turned slightly to the left of the field; his hair is short at the front and long at the back, falling in curls upon his shoulders. He is dressed in the clergy-specific tunic and pallium of 'omophorion'. The space radiating from the central circle



is divided into six trapezoidal panels by columns with base and fillet-capital, each appearing to bear a 'tabula ansata'. These in turn appear to have been enclosed by a circular single-line border, a small portion of which survives.

Within the panels stand six figures, the one complete figure being short haired and beardless, all wearing tunic and pallium. The figures are paired, and face each other accordingly. The most complete figures are recognisable as all being depicted holding their pallium with the left hand and with the right, pointing in symmetrical pairs to the tabula ansata between them. Torr records traces of the letters TEVS on the remaining depicted fragment of tabula ansata, which he suggests as the ending of TIMO TEVS. No such letters are now visible; furthermore, they are not visible on the photograph provided by Torr or the earlier line drawing provided by Garrucci.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 127, pl. XXVIII, **no. 631**; Garrucci 1858, p. 40, pl. XVIII.2; 1864, p. 111, pl. XVIII.2; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 159, pl. 187.2; Iozzi 1900, pp. 22-23, pl. IV.3; Leclercq 1923, p. 1834, no. 138; Morey 1959, p. 53, pl. XXIX, **no. 307**; Torr 1898, p. 1, fig. 1; San-Clementi 1808-9, vol. 3, pl. XLII.7; Vopel 1899, no. 300; Weis-Liebersdorf 1902, p. 124, no. 53. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### **30. P&E 1863.7-27.14**

#### *Daniel in the den of lions (Daniel 6:16-23)*

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 22mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 24mm; T (of lower layer) 4mm; T (of upper layer) 1mm

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed to the line of the cobalt blue glass medallion. The reverse of the base disc is partially discoloured. Convex obverse, concave reverse. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been discoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the single octagonal band border is depicted the frontal full length portrait of a naked male figure, orant, short haired and beardless. His head is quarter turned to the left and angled slightly downwards. Within the field, above the arm on both sides of the figure are depicted two leaf-sprays. Below the arms are depicted two larger leaf-sprays, the left hand example having a single dot portrayed beneath it. The bottom of the leaf-spray to the right of the field is missing. It is probable however, that a single dot was depicted below it as is the case on the example to the left, thus completing the symmetry of all four leaf-sprays within the field. The figure represents Daniel as a heroic nude from the Old Testament Biblical episode of Daniel in the den of lions and would have been part of a sequence of medallions illustrating the entire episode.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, 122, pl. XXXI, **no. 618**; Garrucci 1858, p. 12, pl. III.12; 1864, 37, pl. III.12; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 131, pl. 173.12; Iozzi 1900, 9, pl. I. 5; Leclercq 1923, p. 1828, no. 36, fig. 4520; Morey 1959, p. 55, pl. XXX, **no. 319**; Vopel 1899, no. 201.  
Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### 31. P&E 1863.7-27.15

*Rod-wielding figure (Christ, Moses or Peter)*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 24mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 25mm; T (of lower layer) 4mm; T (of upper layer) 2mm

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed to the line of the cobalt blue glass medallion; convex obverse, concave reverse. Some small chips are present at the edges; the reverse of the base disc is discoloured. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been discoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the single octagonal border, in the centre of the field is depicted a full length male figure, quarter turned to the left. He is short haired and beardless and moves towards the left. In his right hand he holds a rod or wand. He wears a tunic and pallium, draped over his left lower arm. In the field in front of the figure two leaf sprays, the lower example being proportionately large in size. Behind the figure is depicted a second proportionately large leaf spray and three dots. The rod-wielding figure is most often identified with Christ as miracle worker or Logos. However, it is likely to represent an interchangeable stock element and is also, albeit less often, used to represent Moses and Peter striking the rock.

**References:** D'Agincourt 1823, pl. XXI.25; Dalton 1901b, p. 124, pl. XXXI, **no. 626**; Garrucci 1858, p. 22-3 pl. VII.6; 1864, p. 65, pl. VII.6; 1872-1880, p. 140, pl. 176.8; Iozzi 1900, pp. 15-16, pl. II.2; Leclercq 1923, p. 1832, no. 108, fig. 4526; Morey 1959, p. 54, pl. XXX, **no. 317**; Vopel 1899, no. 271. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### 32. P&E 1863.7-27.16

*Rod-wielding figure (Christ, Moses or Peter)*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 21mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 22mm; T (of lower layer) 3mm; T (of upper layer) 4mm

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed and carefully ground to the line of the gold leaf border; convex obverse, concave reverse. The cobalt blue glass medallion is ground and broken away to the right, removing part of the border and is uneven in thickness, tapering to less than 1mm at the lower left. Some small chips are present at the edges; the reverse of the base disc is discoloured. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been discoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the octagonal border in the centre of the field is depicted a full length male figure, quarter turned to the left. He is short haired and beardless and moves towards the left. In his right hand he holds vertically a rod or wand. He wears a wide sleeved tunic and pallium, draped over his left lower arm. In the left of the field below the outstretched arm is depicted a leaf spray. Above the arm is a single dot. To the right of the field behind the figure is a single dot. The rod-wielding figure is most often identified with Christ as miracle worker or Logos. However, it is likely to represent an interchangeable stock element and is also, albeit less often, used to represent Moses and Peter striking the rock.

References: Dalton 1901b, p. 124, pl. XXXI, **no. 627**; Garrucci 1858, p. 23, pl. VII.8; 1864, 65, pl. VII.8; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 140, pl. 176.10; Iozzi 1900, p. 14, pl. II.3; Leclercq 1923, p. 1832, no. 110; Morey 1959, p. 57, pl. XXX, **no. 335**; Vopel 1899, no. 273. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### 33. P&E 1863.7-27.17

*Mary at the tomb of Lazarus or the woman with the issue of blood (John 11.32 or Matthew 9:20-22; Mark 5:25-34; Luke 8:43-48)*

Matarozzi collection

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, purchased from Signor Mosca. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 19mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 25mm; T (of lower layer) 3mm; T (of upper layer) 2mm

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed to the line of the green glass medallion at the top. The bottom of the piece has been broken away completely; convex obverse, concave reverse. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the single octagonal border is depicted the full length profile of a female figure, her head depicted frontally. The figure kneels to the

right, her arms and hands outstretched, wearing a tunic and palla with a veil blown out in an ark behind her. Her hair is patted onto her cranium. The figure has been identified by Dalton and Morey as Martha kneeling at the tomb of Lazarus. The piece may also represent the woman with the issue of blood, however, or a conflation of the two episodes.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 124, pl. XXXI, **no. 625**; Garrucci 1864, pp. 72-3, pl. IX.2; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 142, pl. 178.2; Leclercq 1923, p. 1832, no. 106, fig. 4525; Morey 1959, p. 56, pl. XXX, **no. 334**; Vopel 1899, no. 269.

### 34. P&E S120

#### *Latinized Greek inscription*

Slade collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, entering the British Museum in 1868. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 22mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 42mm; If we are to accept the lozenges and lines as part of a (unparalleled) border to which the piece was seemingly trimmed prior to fragmentation, then we may project the diameter of the trimmed area at approximately 46mm with a border enclosing an area of approximately 34mm in diameter.

One layer of greenish colourless blown glass with a convex base-disc, the lower edge of which appears to turn upwards. There is not remaining trace of a foot-ring. Dalton and Morey both report a small fragment of protecting glass over layer, however, this is now lost. Fragment; the piece may have been roughly trimmed close to the line of the possible border, but only a small portion remains. The top half of the field has been broken away and only the lower half survives. The small portion of remaining gold-leaf is well preserved with few fine cracks. The back of the fragment is completely covered by a silvery deposit. A milky film covers the surface, surrounding but not obscuring the lettering and border. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** In the surviving bottom portion of the field is the latter part of a horizontal double line inscription reading ZH CAIC. The word is more often, but not exclusively in gold glass transcribed as ZESES, meaning 'live', and is a Latinized form of the Greek ΖΗΣΙΣ.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 17, **no. 598**; Leclercq 1923, p. 1845, no. 343, fig. 4538; Morey 1959, p. 56, pl. XXX, **no. 336**; Vopel 1899, pp. 80-81, fig. 8, no. 3.

### 35. P&E S121

*Fragment, retaining only two leaf-spray space fillers in the field*

Slade collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, entering the British Museum in 1868. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 29mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 29mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 70mm; T (of lower layer) 1mm; T (of upper layer) 2mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. The vessel base is lower than the foot-ring; this means that the bowl could not have been stable when placed on a flat surface. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been closely but roughly trimmed along the line of the base-disc, only a small portion of which remains. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with some minor discolouration and 'silvering' and fine cracks throughout. There are many small scratches on both surfaces of the glass. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular reciprocal border of half discs is depicted two small leaf sprays. The rest of the iconography has been lost. The orientation of the leaf sprays indicates that this fragment formed the lower left portion of the base-disc.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 130, **no. 650**; Leclercq 1923, p. 1844, no. 317; Morey 1959, p. 55, pl. XXX, **no. 328**; Franks & Nesbitt 1871, no. 121.

### 36. P&E S317; The St. Ursula bowl

*Multiple Biblical episodes (The three youths in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the den of lions, the story of Jonah, the healing of the paralytic and four unidentified scenes)*

Slade collection

Cut and incised technique gilt-glass plaque (c. 360-400 AD), found in 1866 from a stone cist containing the burnt bones of an adult female accompanied by a few small items of glass and jet in the cemetery of Ursulagartenstrasse, Cologne. Formally in the Herstatt collection and presumably purchased by Slade in 1867-8 (the piece is published by Düntzer as being in the Herstatt collection in 1867). The object entered the British Museum in 1868. D (conjectured) 190mm, T (of lower layer) 1mm

A single layer of greenish colourless blown glass. The apparently slightly concave base-disc has been taken by some to indicate a shallow bowl, however, the width and thickness of glass, together with the lack of evidence for a covering layer instead suggests a gilt-glass plaque. Fragment; the condition of this example is far less perfect than previously published illustrations would suggest. The piece is considerably fragmented, intensified due to it being burnt in a fourth century cremation. The central portion is almost completely missing. The piece has been reconstructed and mounted on a bed of clear casting resin using acetone soluble H. M. G cellulose nitrate adhesive (at time of writing). It is, however, impossible to exhibit it successfully. More than 100 small fragments, whose exact locations within the iconography are negligible, remain loose. The lack of a protecting layer of glass has resulted in much of the design being lost or damaged through attrition. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** Dalton has noted that the treatment of some of the scenes is remarkable, and certainly un-paralleled in other contemporary media. Enhanced by the heavily abraded nature of the iconography, the secure identification of many of the episodes depicted is thus impossible. Düntzer's 1867 illustration, the earliest image to have been produced of the object, does appear highly accurate with respect to the areas that are clearly visible. As such, it is referred to with regard to the other now less visible areas also. Düntzer's image is illustrated below (Düntzer 1867, pl. V).

Within the outer circular serrated border the piece is divided into eight panels by thin columns radiating from a central medallion. Within the circular double serrated border of the central medallion is depicted the lower body of an animal, possibly that of a lamb. Within the border of the central medallion is the remains of the inscription '[...] EC DVLCI[s] [...]'. It is translated as '[...]ec sweet [...]', and probably forms part of the commonly occurring generic phrase 'dulcis anima', 'sweetheart'.



Düntzer's illustration of **39**, the St Ursula bowl (Düntzer 1867, pl. V)

Reading from right to left, the first two panels of the outer register, positioned to the upper right of the piece, depict the story of Jonah and the great fish in the same way as noted in Chapter Seven. The first panel depicts Jonah cast out of a ship, moving towards the left, with a large quilted main sail and smaller fore sail by two apparently nude sailors headfirst into the mouth of the sea monster. The sea monster takes the form of a Ketos. The scene is paralleled almost identically in the cut and incised gold glass vessel base now in the Louvre Musée du Louvre inv. no. ED 1712 S 2053; Arveiller-Dulong & Nenna 2005, no. 933. According to Düntzer, in the right-hand



corner of the panel is depicted a dove, the significance of which is, however, uncertain. It is no longer visible. The sea is highlighted with blue over-painted enamel, whilst the sea monsters mouth and small details of the ship are highlighted in red over-painted enamel. The episode is concluded in the second panel. In the bottom of the field, Jonah is cast fourth, head first and apparently orant, from the mouth of the ketos. In the upper portion of the field Jonah is shown reclining under the gourd vine. The area of the sea is again highlighted in blue over-painted enamel.

The third panel depicts Daniel in the den of lions (Daniel 6:16-23). The full-length figure of Daniel is shown clean-shaven and with closely-cropped hair. He wears a girdled tunic with red over-painted enamel clavi, double stripes at the wrists and two dots at the hem. Daniel stands orant between four lions in Düntzer's illustration, the rear two apparently resting on a raised platform. Only two to the right of the panel are now visible, however. Behind Daniel and the lions are depicted four palm trees with green over-painted leaves.

The fourth panel depicts the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3:8-27). The three naked and orant Hebrews stand in the furnace, indicated by a masonry wall from which issue flames over-painted in red enamel. The first and third figure faces outwards in profile, whilst the central figure is depicted frontally. The heads of none of the Hebrews now survive, however Düntzer illustrates the one to the far left as being short-haired and beardless.

The fifth panel is largely abraded and has not been identified with any certainty. To the right of the field, next to a tower or high masonry wall stands a short-haired and beardless male figure wearing a tunic with red over-painted clavi and pallium. He is turned slightly to the right with his right hand resting on the head of a smaller diminutive figure standing before him. In the background is a double topped palm tree with green over-painted enamel leaves. The scene might represent Christ's healing of the blind man. If this is correct, then the masonry may represent the walls of Jericho (Luke 18:35).

The sixth panel, at the very bottom of the object, is again largely abraded and has not been identified with any certainty. Above a wall of masonry stands what appears to be

an orant female figure, wearing a long girded tunic with two red over-painted vertical stripes. In front of the wall to the left is depicted a recumbent ox. On the right Dalton and Morey report traces of a second ox or other animal, however, it is no longer visible. Dalton prefers identification with Susanna in the garden (Daniel 13); Morey does not provide any interpretation.

The seventh panel quite clearly depicts the healed paralytic (Luke 5:18-25). The healed paralytic is short-haired and beardless and wears a girdled tunic with red over-painted enamel clavi, double stripes at the wrists and a single band at the hem. He stands holding with extended arms his bed on his shoulders, represented by a rectangular framework, the top of which is filled with cross-hatching probably to represent straps or bands. Behind him are depicted the indications of small palm trees with green over-painted enamel leaves.

The eighth and final panel is largely abraded to the left of the field, but can perhaps be identified with Moses striking the rock (Exodus 17:1-6 Numbers 20:8). To the right of the field is depicted a youthful male figure, short-haired and beardless, and wearing a tunic and pallium with over-painted red clavi. In his right hand he holds a staff or wand pointed towards the lower left of the panel. Behind him is depicted a double topped palm tree with green over-painted leaves. In the left of the panel is depicted what appears to be a rock with a stream of water over-painted in blue enamel issuing from its top. Upon the blue coloured surface is what seems to be a number of scattered limbs, a head, two arms and two legs. This is unusual, but might perhaps be the result of abrasion.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 124-6, **no. 628**; Düntzer 1867, p. 168, pl. V; Franks and Nesbitt 1871, pp. 50-2; Garrucci 1872-80, vol. 3, pp. 111-13, pl. 169.1; Kraus 1882-1886, vol. 1, p. 619-20; 1896, vol. 1, p. 481; Leclercq 1907, vol. 2, pp. 488-90; 1923, p. 1833, no. 129; Morey 1959, p. 58, pl. XXX, **no. 347**; Vopel 1899, no. 291. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

**37. P&E 1870.6-6.12***Portrait-style depiction of a secular man*

Slade collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, given by the executors of Felix Slade. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 55mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 54mm; T (of lower layer) 4mm; T (of upper layer) 4mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass, both of which are flat. Fragment; the edges of the piece have been very closely ground, losing much of the outer band of the double border and trimming away the foot-ring in its entirety. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with many fine cracks throughout. Some iridescence is present on both surfaces; however, this does not inhibit the image. The piece is chipped to the top right. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the field enclosed by the circular double band border is centrally depicted the single quarter-length bust of a short-haired and beardless male figure. He wears a long sleeved tunic, his right sleeve shoulder and lower arm is cross-hatched to indicate embroidery (the latter in two bands). He also wears a chlamys fastened by a prominent bow brooch in his right shoulder. The man's head is turned towards the left of the field. In the field, to the right of the figures head is depicted a further scroll, to the left of the head is depicted a case containing three styli. These attributes lead Dalton to suggest that the man depicted was a scribe. However, in line with other portrait-style depictions of secular individuals in gold glass (discussed in Chapter Five), they are more likely to represent idealised indications of wealth and status signified through literacy.

His hands are interpreted both Dalton and Morey as holding a scroll at either end, according to the standardized status-laden formula frequently adopted in gold glass. The lower hand on this example is assumed to have fallen outside the border. Upon close observation and comparison with other gold glass portrait-style images, however, this interpretation is in error. The 'roll' to the bottom right of the figure, interpreted as being the top of a scroll or rotunda in fact conforms more closely to the

generic roll of fabric used to indicate the hand upon a number of cut and incised secular portrait-style depictions (e.g. **19**). The right hand of the figure in this glass, rather than crossing the chest in order to hold the scroll top, is instead positioned across the body, the index and middle fingers extended but the remainder retracted in the gesture of speaking, address and teaching.

The space within the double band border contains the inscription, commencing with a leaf spray at the apex, EVM[...]A.VIVE.VIVAS.PIE.ZESES. The phrase PIE ZESES is a Latinized version of the Greek phrase ΠΙΕ ΖΗΣΗΣ, meaning 'drink that you may live'. EVM[...]A constitutes an unidentifiable personal name; the remainder reads 'live, life, drink that you may live'. An identical piece, though with a differing inscription is present within the Vatican Museum collection (Morey 1959, p. 11, pl. VII, no. 42).

**References:** Dalton 1901b, pp. 118-119, pl. XXVIII, **no. 605**; Kisa 1908, vol. 3, p. 867, fig. 355; Leclercq 1923, p. 1851, no. 418, fig. 4544; Morey 1959, p. 52, pl. XXIX, **no. 300**; Vopel 1899, p. 44, fig. 1, no. 77. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### **38. P&E 1878.1-11.305**

*Fragment of a seated portrait-style depiction of Saint Peter*

Meyrick collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome, given by Maj. General Meyrick, formally in the collection of Samuel Rush-Meyrick and Douce collections. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 39mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 34mm; T (of lower layer) 3mm; T (of upper layer) 4mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave base-disc. Fragment; broken all around, less than half the full extent of the iconography is retained. The foot-ring has also been trimmed away in its entirety. On the reverse, the lower layer is chipped. Infiltration between the layers toward the top of the piece has caused some discolouration, obscuring the iconography in this area. The lower portion of gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. The piece is chipped to

the top right. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular reciprocal border, on the left of the field, is depicted the lower portion of an adult male figure, in profile looking towards the centre of the field. He is beardless and seated with his right arm outstretched to the right across his body. In the field, below the arm of the figure and curved in accordance with the circular border is the inscription PETRS, identifying the man as Saint Peter. It is probable that this piece depicted the commonly occurring formula of Saints Peter and Paul seated in conversation, akin to number **24** in the British Museum collection.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 129, **no. 639**; Leclercq 1923, p. 1838, no. 209; Morey 1959, p. 53, pl. XXIX, **no. 306**; Vopel 1899, no. 368. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### **39. P&E 1881.6-24.1; The St Severin bowl**

*Diminutive medallion studded bowl depicting multiple biblical scenes (Susanna in the garden, the Fall, the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the den of lions, the story of Jonah and the sacrifice of Isaac)*

Franks collection

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion studded bowl retaining 21 medallions (c. 360-400 AD). Found in 1864 from a burial in the quarter of St Severinus, Cologne. Formally in the collection of Karl Disch and purchased by Franks for the British Museum in 1881 at the sale of the Disch collection. D (of vessel, maximum) c. 210mm

One greenish colourless layer of glass forming the vessel wall, with cobalt blue and green diminutive medallions applied to the outside in three concentric circles. Fragment; the vessel is incomplete, surviving in two separate portions, both of which have been broken and mended. The larger of the two pieces retains sixteen medallions and consists of four repaired pieces. The smaller consists of three repaired pieces and retains four diminutive medallions.

A single blue glass diminutive medallion, depicting a rod-wielding figure, apparently found with the St Severin bowl and originally part of the vessel is in the collection of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (inv. no. AI39; *Picturing the Bible* 2007, no. 13, figure 1; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 279). A detail from the earliest illustration of the vessel, produced shortly after its initial discovery in 1864 (Aus'm Weerth 1864, pl. III.3) clearly shows the smaller of the two fragments of the vessel now in the British Museum. However, highlighted in Figure 15 (in the main thesis text), it also depicts a third much smaller fragment not present in the British Museum collection. From the illustration, which places it adjoining to the smaller of the two fragments that survive today, this third piece incorporates both wheel cut lines running around the mouth of the vessel, and what appears to be a very short length of the rim of the vessel itself. The fragment is missing from the illustration of the St Severin bowl presented by Garrucci and the current whereabouts of this small fragment are today unknown.

Illustrated in Figure 32 (in the main thesis text), some of the diminutive medallions show signs of tooling. There is some slight pitting of the glass in places, as well as some encrustation, milky weathering and incipient iridescence. There are many pinprick bubbles in the glass. The gold leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Garrucci's illustration of the St Severin bowl suggested that there were thirteen missing diminutive medallions, giving the vessel a total of thirty four medallions. My own re-examination of the arrangement of the diminutive medallions on the St Severin bowl, paying particular attention to the colour of the medallions and in which order those colours appear, instead suggests that a total of forty diminutive medallions were originally present. The diminutive medallions on the St Severin bowl were not randomly placed, but are instead ordered into three concentric circles of larger medallions. These are interspersed with two concentric of smaller medallions. The blue and green diminutive medallions are alternated, again conforming to an ordered layout. A reconstruction of the colour coded pattern of diminutive medallions as I interpret it to be is discussed in Chapter Three and is illustrated in Figure 68 in the main thesis text.

Traces of a three line inscription appear in two places on the surviving vessel fragments, in both instances around the top of the bowl in-between medallions in the outer register (Figure 68.4 & 14a in the main thesis text). It is likely that inscription appeared in this position running around the complete circumference of the bowl (Figure 68.2, 6, 8, 10, 12 & 16a in the main thesis text). Illustrated in Figure 12 (in the main thesis text), Morey read the larger of the two surviving inscriptions (Figure 68.4a) as 'OM(?)O ITV IR. However, on close inspection by myself, and with the use of colour enhanced photographs, the inscription seems instead to read '[...]/DE(?) [...]/OES[...]ZE(?)E (?)'. Illustrated in Figure 13, the second inscription (Figure 68.14a in the main thesis text) appears to read 'M[...] /TM(or V)[...]/.Z[...]'. Although rendered almost illegible, the inscriptions might represent the standard generic wishes for life and good health also seen on almost every gold glass vessel base, irrespective of iconography. Indeed, if my reading is correct, then the final word of both extant inscriptions 'ZE(?)E (?)' and 'Z[...] ' respectively, might be ZESES, the generic Latinized Greek term frequently appearing on gold glass vessel bases meaning 'drink that you may live'.

The iconography of the St Severin bowl is described and discussed in detail in Chapter Seven (in the main thesis text). The surviving medallions illustrate elements of the Fall (Genesis 3:6-7), the sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis 22:2-13), the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3:8-27), Daniel in the den of lions (Daniel 6:16-23), Susanna and the elders (Daniel 13:15-44) and the story of Jonah (Jonah 1-4) episodes. The complete iconographic schema of the St Severin bowl is reconstructed in Figure 68 (in the main thesis text). Each episode was probably accompanied by a rod-wielding figure, akin to numbers **31-2** in the British Museum collection, probably representing Christ as Logos.

**References:** Aus'm Weerth 1864, pp. 121-8, pl. III.1; 1878, p. 124; 1881, pp. 121 & 129; Barag 1970, pp. 101-2, fig. 1, pl. 26b; Dalton 1901b, pp. 126-7, pl. XXX, **no. 629**; Dillon 1907, pl. X; Fremersdorf 1962, p. 34, pl. 48; 1967, pp. 217-18, pls. 300-3; Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pp. 113-4, pl. 170.1; Kraus 1882-1886, vol. 1, p. 618; 1896, vol. 1, p. 482, fig. 358; Leclercq 1907, vol. 2, pp. 491-3; 1923, p. 1833, no. 130; Morey 1959, pp. 58-9, pl. XXX, **no. 349**. Exhibited: *Römer am Rhein* 1967, p. 276, no. D106; *Masterpieces*

1968, pp. 67-8, no. 88; *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, pp. 277-9, no. 154; *Picturing the Bible* 2007, no. 13

#### **40. P&E 1886.11-17.330**

*Fragment of a seated portrait-style depiction of an unidentified saint*

Franks collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 39mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 29mm; T (of lower layer) 1mm; T (of upper layer) 3mm. The medallion is surrounded by a gilt paper mount.

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. The vessel base is lower than the foot-ring; this means that the bowl could not have been stable when places on a flat surface. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has apparently been carefully trimmed along the line of the base-disc. The majority of the base-disc has been lost. . The foot-ring is slightly misshapen and was caused by being unintentionally heated to a greater extent than required during the manufacturing process. Only a small part of the depiction is preserved. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. Some iridescence is present on both surfaces and there is some minor discolouration. Neither, however, inhibits the view of the image. There are many pinprick bubbles in the glass. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular reciprocal border of half circles is depicted the full-length profile of a single male figure facing towards the centre of the field. The figure is draped, possibly indicating the tunic and pallium, though the exact clothing is unidentifiable and sits on a folding stool with wide curved and tapering legs. An inscription may well have been present, but the fragment is small and does not preserve the area usually caring inscriptions on pieces with similar compositions. Dalton suggests that this example probably represented Saint Peter and St Paul akin to number **24** in the British Museum collection. However, a comparative example in the



Vatican, again with a near identical folding stool (Morey 1959, no. 74) depicts Saints Sixtus and Timothy.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 130, pl. XXIX, **no. 643**; Morey 1959, p. 52, pl. XXIX, **no. 303**. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

#### **41. P&E 1886.11-17.331**

*Fragment with inscription and border*

Franks collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 21mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 26mm; T (bottom layer) 3mm; T (top layer) 4mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave base-disc. Fragment; a single small shard is all that remains with only a fragment of the iconography still visible. The entire foot-ring has been lost. The small amount of gold-leaf still preserved between the base disc and the vessel in relatively good condition. There is little iridescence or discolouration. There are many pinprick bubbles in the glass. No part of the foot-ring is retained on the surviving fragment. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** All that remains of the iconography is a small portion of the single line circular border. In the field, curved in accordance with the border is the inscription [...]CI[...]. Vopel read [...]LCI[.], leading Dalton to suggest that the inscription may have formed part of the generic phrase *Dulcis Anima*, occurring frequently on other gold glasses such as number **45** in the British Museum collection.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 130, **no. 646**; Leclercq 1923, p. 1844, no. 313; Morey 1959, p. 56, pl. XXX, **no. 327**; Vopel 1899, no. 472. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

**42. P&E 1886.11-17.332***Latin inscription*

Franks collection

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD), probably from Rome. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 15mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 13mm; T (of lower layer) 4mm; T (of upper layer) 2mm. Dalton depicts the piece surrounded by a gilt paper mount, now lost.

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed to the line of the green glass medallion at the top. The upper right portion is missing with the loss of the iconography in that area; highly convex obverse, flat to the reverse. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** No border. Horizontally within the lower part of the field is the inscription [...] VITA. In the upper portion of the field the bottom of a single illegible letter remains preserved.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 117, pl. XXXI, **no. 601**; Leclercq 1923, p. 1847, no. 370, fig. 4542; Morey 1959, p. 56, pl. XXX, **no. 332**; Vopel 1899, no. 28.

**43. P&E 1893.4-26.183***Fragment with portrait-style depiction of Saint Paul*

Franks collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 40mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 37mm; T (bottom layer) 2mm; T (top layer) 3mm; D (of foot-ring) 70mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc with low fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been trimmed very closely along the line of the base-disc. The foot-ring

is complete within the arc of the fragment. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. Some iridescence is present on both the obverse and the reverse. There is some minor discolouration and encrustation along the inside edge of the foot-ring. Neither, however, inhibits the view of the image. There are a number of pinprick bubbles in the glass. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the circular reciprocal of half circles is depicted the frontal and half length bust of an adult male. He is short-haired and beardless. His head shown in profile and is turned towards the centre of the field, in front of which is an illegible feature, possibly a leaf-spray. In the field, above his left shoulder is the inscription PAVL[v]S, identifying the man as Saint Paul. That his head is shown in profile suggests that Saint Paul was paired with another saint, possibly Saint Peter.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 129, pl. XXIX, **no. 640**; Leclercq 1923, p. 1838, no. 210; Morey 1959, p. 56, pl. XXX, **no. 339**; Vopel 1899, no. 369. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

#### **44. G&R 1890.9-1.1**

##### *Portrait of a secular youth*

Carlisle collection

Brushed technique portrait medallion (c. 300 AD), probably from Rome. T (bottom layer) 4mm; T (top layer) 1mm; D (of medallion) 52mm

Translucent cobalt-blue lower disc overlain by a colourless upper layer. 'Glass of the Caesars' states that both layers are cast and ground, however, on close examination of the piece reveals that slight undulations are present upon the reverse, indicative of the base-layer was initially been a blown parison, and subsequently flattened as it cooled. This feature is highlighted in the profile illustration. The upper layer was also blown. The edges have been bevelled and ground down in a highly uniform manner, depicted from above in Figure 16, and from below in Figure 17 (in the main thesis text).

Only visible under magnification, the gold leaf has been incised and the image produced through a series of very small half circles, not small linear strokes as on the

portrait medallion in the V&A (inv. no. 1052-1868, Figure 33 in the main thesis text). The blue glass background gives prominence to the image. The upper layer of glass has been cut away over the face and body and over the standard. As a result, the gold leaf is damaged to the left of the face and across the chest. A significant degree of limy weathering extends across the reverse and bevelled edge. There is some iridescence and a light milky film over the portrait. Pin-prick bubbles occur in both glass layers. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** Within its thin perfectly circular single line border is depicted the bust of an individual youthful-looking male figure. He has short curled hair and a closely cropped beard. Surface damage has unfortunately rendered his costume illegible, although a fold in what may have been a tunic is visible, running from the figure's right shoulder down across his chest. Beside the portrait bust in the left hand panel of the field is depicted a miniature standard. It consists of two lateral hoops set within a frame, possibly intended to represent openwork or 'opus interrabile'. The standard is surmounted by two confronted rampant lions positioned on either side of a central ornamented terminal. It rests on a horizontal base. The standard depicted upon the British Museum gold glass closely resembles a number of third-century bronze standards identified with professional associations. In this instance the standard is paralleled by those of the sports related 'collegia iuvenum', from across the Roman Empire (Arce 1984; Faider-Feytmans 1984; Veny 2003).

**References:** Unpublished. Exhibited: *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 276, no. 152

#### 45. P&E 1898.7-19.1

*Portrait-style depiction of a 'married couple'*

Tyszkiewicz collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 51mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 51mm; D (of foot-ring) 56mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with markedly concave pad base-disc with relatively high fire-polished foot-ring. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away and the bottom has been trimmed very closely along the line of the base-disc, all of which survives. Two strain cracks are visible in the base-disc. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. The iconography is largely obscured (though not rendered illegible) from above, by a whitish film and blistering between the two layers of glass. The iconography is clearer when the object is viewed against a black background (Figure 40 in the main thesis text). There are a number of pinprick bubbles in the glass. This object has not been scientifically analysed.

**Description and comment:** Within the single perfectly circular wide band border are depicted two quarter-length busts. To the right of the field is depicted a man, beardless with short curly hair and wearing a toga contabulata with red enamel over-painted clavus on his right shoulder. To the left, a woman, her hair neatly drawn back in plaits finishing upon her cranium coiled in a net, with a row of small curls on her forehead. She wears earrings and a necklace over-painted in green enamel, and is clothed in a richly patterned tunic and palla. The heads of both figures are slightly turned inwards towards the centre of the field and each other. At shoulder height between the heads of the couple is depicted a full-length adult male figure representing Christ. His head turned slightly to the right and he is short haired and beardless, giving him a youthful complexion. He is dressed in a tunic and pallium with over-painted red clavus. His arms are outstretched and he holds in each hand a crown over the heads of both the man and woman.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 121, pl. XXVIII, **no. 613**; Froehner 1898, p. 35, no. 102, pl. VI; Leclercq 1923, p. 1856, no. 481; Morey 1959, p. 53, pl. XXIX, **no. 310**, Pelka 1901, p. 103; Vopel 1899, p. 47, fig. 3, no. 137; Walter 1979, p. 84. Exhibited: *Glass of the Caesars* 1987, p. 282, no. 157

**46. P&E 1898.7-19.2***Gladiator and gladiatorial training equipment*

Tyszkiewicz collection

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome; formerly in the Castellani collection. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 81mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 72mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 55mm; T (of lower layer) 4mm; T (of upper layer) 3mm

Two layers of glass. The pad base-disc is copper blue in colour whilst the upper layer is of greenish colourless glass. The base-disc is complete; however, the downturned foot-ring has been closely grozed away to make the reverse flat. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been broken away, but not in accordance with the base-disc. A significant portion of vessel wall still survives indicating that the piece was originally a shallow bowl or cup. The gold leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. Both surfaces are covered with minor dirt incrustation and a light milky iridescent film, neither of which inhibit the iconography. There are a few pin-prick bubbles in the colourless glass, but many such bubbles and impurities occur in the blue glass. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** Within the single line circular border is depicted a gladiator. In the centre of the field is depicted an adult male figure, full-length, short-haired and beardless, advancing to the left. He holds a sword in his right hand and a trident in his left. He wears a loincloth with indented edges and bound lower leggings. The top of the trident, loincloth and leggings were seen by both Dalton and Morey as being executed in silver foil. On close examination, however, it is actually gold leaf over-painted with white enamel detail. The gladiator wears a belt outlined and ornamented in over-painted red enamel. His upper body is nude, with the details of his torso highlighted in over-painted red enamel, but with the left arm protected with padding bound with thongs, to the upper part of which is fastened a piece of defensive armour known as a 'galerus'. Across the upper body is a baldric, possibly an attachment for the galerus. To the right of the field is depicted a stele engraved with

an ornamental X and surmounted by a windbag ('corycus' or 'follies pugilatorius') used to practice boxing, over-painted in reddish brown.

In the field, curved in accordance with the circular border is the inscription 'STRA TO NICA EBEN EVIC ISTI/VADEIN AVRE LI A'. In the field, horizontally across the bottom, and apparently separate from the preceding inscription is the generic Latinised Greek inscription 'PIE ZESE S', 'drink that you may live'. The complete inscription has been transcribed by Dalton as 'Stratonice, bene vicisti, vade in Aureliam. Pie zesese'. Dalton reasonably states that 'AVRE LI A' probably relates to the province Aurelia in Cisalpine Gaul. However, he does not provide a complete translation of the entire phrase.

'Stratonice' is extremely unlikely to be the name of the gladiator depicted. No reference citing 'Stratonice' as a male name exists, indeed, 'Stratonice' apparently relates exclusively to various females of the Hellenistic and later Greek era. It is notable, however, that the city of Stratoniceia in Caria (western Anatolia) was named after one such female (Strabo, *Geography* xiv.2). It is possible that the word 'STRA TO NICA E' is a corruption of the town of Stratoniceia. Dalton's transcription of the word as Stratonice being in error, the full inscription can in fact read in translation as 'You have conquered in Stratoniceia, go to Aurelia. Drink that you may live'.

**References:** Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, XV.7041; Dalton 1901a, p. 225, pl. II; Dalton 1901b, p. 118, pl. XXVIII, **no. 603**; Dillon 1907, p. 93; Froehner 1898, p. 35, no. 103, pl. VI.3; Hoffmann 1884, p. 62, no. 428; Leclercq 1923, p. 1849, no. 398; Morey 1959, p. 52, pl. XXVIII, **no. 302**; Vopel 1899, no. 56. Exhibited: *Masterpieces* 1968, no. 89

#### **47. P&E OA856**

##### *Portrait-style depiction of Saint Peter*

Old Acquisition

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome; Garrucci stated in 1858 that the piece was in the private collection of sig. Luigi Fould. By Garrucci's second edition of 1864, the piece is recorded as being part of the British

Museum collection. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 36mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 34mm; T (of lower layer) 2mm; T (of middle layer) 3mm; T (of upper layer) 4mm

Three layers of greenish colourless blown glass, the upper layer mostly missing. Much of the base-disc and all of the foot-ring have been trimmed away. Fragment; broken all around, approximately half the full extent of the iconography is retained. The gold-leaf is well preserved but with fine cracks throughout. Infiltration between the middle and lower most layers resultant in some discolouration of the iconography, the image is far clearer when viewed in the reverse (Garrucci's line drawing is presented in Figure 46 in the main thesis text). Some iridescence and few bubbles in glass. The glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** The remaining fragment clearly depicts the bust of a single man, identified as Saint Peter in the accompanying inscription. Peter is depicted frontally, and in this instance is portrayed as having short curly hair and a cropped beard. He is dressed in tunic and pallium, apparently of 'omophorion' type. The inscription, occurring to the left of the field, reads: PE TRV SPRO TEG A, translated as 'Peter protect [me?]'. The last letter 'A' of the inscription is badly discoloured, and has also been read as 'E'. It is not present in Garrucci's illustration. Because of the fragmentary nature of the piece, it is impossible to speculate what, if anything was inscribed or depicted above the left shoulder of St Peter. Traces of gold leaf to the left of the inscription may represent a decorative pattern or, as Garrucci depicts it, the remnants of a reciprocal border. If latter is correct, then this reciprocal border is made up of considerably thinner discs than upon other gold glasses.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 128, **no. 633**; Garrucci 1858, p. 28, pl. X.1; 1864, pp. 77-81, pl. X.1; 1872-1880, vol. 3, pp. 144-5, pl. 179.1; Leclercq 1923, p. 1835, no. 156; Morey 1959, p. 52, pl. XXIX, **no. 298**,; Vopel 1899, no. 316. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED



**48. P&E OA857***Portrait-style depiction of an unidentified saint*

## Old Acquisition

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome; Garrucci states that it was part of the British Museum collection by 1858. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 25mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 24mm. The medallion is surrounded by a gilt paper mount.

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed to the line of the unusual purple glass medallion at the top; convex obverse, concave reverse. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf. There are a number of pin prick bubble in the glass, and significant chips, greater in number on the reverse. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within the single line octagonal border is depicted a short-haired and beardless male figure quarter-turned to the right of the field. Flanking his head is a dot and a leaf-spray. He wears what could perhaps also be described as a tunic and pallium of omophorion type, or possibly a lacerna fastened on the breast with a circular broach. He certainly does not wear the toga contabulata worn by secular male figures in gold glass and as such, despite the lack of any identifying inscription, he should be identified as a saint.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 119, pl. XXXI, **no. 606**,; Garrucci 1858, p. 46, pl. XX.5; 1864, p. 125, pl. XX.5; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 167, pl. 189.5; Iozzi 1900, p. 24, pl. V.1; Leclercq 1923, p. 1851, no. 434, fig. 4546; Morey 1959, p. 55, pl. XXX, **no. 325**; Vopel 1899, no. 91. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

**49. P&E OA858***Latin inscription*

## Old Acquisition

Gilt-glass trail technique vessel base (c. 300 AD), probably from Rome; Vopel states that it was part of the British Museum collection by 1899 L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 44mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 44mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 50mm; T (bottom layer) 3mm; T (top layer) 10mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly convex pad base-disc and low foot-ring. Blue and gilt-glass trail applied to the base disc and sandwiched between the two layers. Fragment; the wall of the vessel has been largely broken away, though with a small amount surviving on the left side indicating that it may have been a tumbler-style cup. Traces of the foot-ring survive, but the majority has been broken away. The upper and right areas of the base-disc are missing. The remaining gilt-glass trail is well preserved, although the gilding appears cracked and in some instances has been largely rubbed away where the trail has been bent to a curve. Minor iridescence is present on both surfaces, but does not obscure the iconography. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** The piece retains most of a cartouche containing a two-line inscription. The cartouche is rectangular, with waves upon the upper and right side. We can reasonably postulate matching waves having also been present upon the left side; however, this portion of the glass has been broken away. The bottom edge of the cartouche is underlined by a single trail of blue glass. The central area is divided into two, bearing the inscription ANNI/BONI, translated as the generic phrase 'happy new year'.

**References:** Alarcão 1968, pp. 76-77, no. 1; Dalton 1901b, p. 117, **no. 600**; Filippini 1995, p. 123, no. 8; Fremersdorf 1959, p. 66; Kisa 1908, vol. 1, p. 269; 1908, vol. 2, p. 471; 1908, vol. 3, p. 863; Leclercq 1923, p. 1847, no. 363, fig. 4541; Morey 1959, p. 52, pl. XXIX, **no. 304**; Vopel 1899, p. 96, no. 22. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

**50. P&E OA860**

*Fragment with remains of a circular half disc reciprocal border*

Old Acquisition

Cut and incised technique vessel base (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome; it is uncertain when it entered the British Museum collection. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 26mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 12mm; D (of foot-ring, conjectured) 70mm; T (bottom layer) 3mm; T (top layer) 1mm

Two layers of greenish colourless blown glass with slightly concave pad base-disc and low fire-polished foot-ring. The foot-ring is slightly misshapen and was caused by being unintentionally heated to a greater extent than required during the manufacturing process. Fragment; a single small shard is all that remains with only a fragment of the iconography still visible. The wall of the vessel has apparently been broken away and carefully trimmed to the line of the base-disc. The small amount of gold-leaf remaining is well preserved. Some iridescence is present on both surfaces and there is some minor discolouration. Neither, however, inhibits the view of the iconography. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Manganese.

**Description and comment:** A single gold-leaf half circle from a circular reciprocal border is all that remains of the iconography.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 130, **no. 648**; Leclercq 1923, p. 1844, no. 315; Morey 1959, p. 55, pl. XXX, **no. 326**. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

**51. P&E OA864**

*Illegible*

Old Acquisition

Cut and incised technique vessel base or plaque (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome; it is uncertain when it entered the British Museum collection. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 36mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 25mm; T (bottom layer) 4mm

Single layer of greenish colourless blown glass. Fragment; broken all around and un-diagnostic. The gold-leaf is badly worn and has been almost obliterated due to the lack of protecting upper layer. The piece possibly constitutes the base-disc of a cut and incised technique vessel, the gold leaf being destroyed by the removal of the fused upper layer. Some iridescence and major discolouration is present on both surfaces. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** The iconography is illegible.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 130, **no. 651**; Leclercq 1923, p. 1844, no. 318; Morey 1959, p. 59, **no. 350**. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 52. P&E OA867

*Togam virilem sumere (the coming of age ceremony for free-born boys)*

Old Acquisition

Cut and incised technique gilt-glass plaque (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome; Garrucci states that it was part of the British Museum collection by 1858. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 136mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 143mm; T (bottom layer) 3mm

Single layer of greenish colourless blown glass with tapering edges. Fragment; Dalton (1901) and Morey (1959) record seven fragments. Two of these have since been joined leaving five fragments only, two of which can further be joined as shown in the photographs of the object. This piece has been crudely trimmed roughly in accordance with the border. The gold-leaf is severely worn, in places the gold left has been entirely worn away and only the incisions which have penetrated the glass are visible (Garrucci's illustration of the piece is presented in Figure 73 in the main thesis text). Iridescence in places but does not obscure the iconography. A silvery film is apparent in places on the reverse. The glass was examined using SEM/EDX analysis and found to have been decoloured with Antimony.

**Description and comment:** Within the serrated reciprocal border is depicted the full length figures of an adult male, an adult female, and a male child. The adult male stands on the right. Only the left hand side of his depiction survives, however, he is clearly visible as wearing a short tunic and what appears to be a chlamys with over-painted red enamel stripes. In both hands he holds a small tunic edged with over-painted red enamel stripes as if in the act of putting it on the male child standing in the centre. The male child, of which only the lower portions remain, is shown quarter turned to his right, his hand outstretched towards the adult female. He wears a short tunic. The adult female stands on the left and is shown with her head turned downwards and to her left, towards the male child. She wears a richly embroidered mantle. In the field, curved in accordance with the inner edge of the border, is remains of the inscription ending '[...] [CUM CON]IVGETVA. ETFORTVNIOFILIO TVO', translated as '[...] with your wife and your son, Fortunius'. The scene probable depicts the boy Fortunius receiving the garments associated with manhood from his father.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 120-1, **no. 611**; Garrucci 1858, p. 60, pl. XXXI.3; 1864, p. 162-3, pl. XXXI.3; 1872-1880, vol. 3, pp. 187-8, pl. 201.3; Iozzi 1900, p. 27, pl. VI.1; Leclercq 1923, p. 1834, no. 468; Morey 1959, p. 51, pl. XXIX, **no. 296**; Pelka 1901, pp. 159-160; Pillinger 1984, pp. 55-56, pl. 21, fig. 128; Vopel 1899, no. 124. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### 53. P&E OA4308

*Adam*

Old Acquisition

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome; Garrucci states that it was part of the British Museum collection by 1858. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 27mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 23mm; T (bottom layer) 4mm; T (top layer) 3mm. The medallion is accompanied by a gilt paper mount.

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed to the line of the cobalt blue glass

medallion at the top; convex obverse, concave reverse. A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf. There are a number of pin prick bubbles in the glass. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** Within a single-band hexagonal border a single short-haired and beardless naked male figure is depicted, quarter-turned to the right. With his left hand, he attempts to cover his nakedness, whilst his right arm is positioned across his body, his hand outstretched as if in the act of reception. In the field are depicted four heart-shaped leaf-spray space-fillers. The figure is easily identifiable with Adam in comparison with other contemporary media, in particular other instances of gold glass (e.g. Vatican Museum (inv. no. 712 (ex-231); Morey 1959, pl. VIII, no. 47).

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 122, pl. XXXI, **no. 616**; Garrucci 1858, p. 7, pl. II.3; 1864, p. 24, pl. II.3; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 126, pl. 172.3, Iozzi 1900, p. 5, pl. I.1; Leclercq 1923, p. 1826, no. 4, fig. 4517; Morey 1959, pp. 54-55, pl. XXX, **no. 318**; Vopel 1899, no. 171.

Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

#### 54. P&E OA4309

##### *Hercules and the Cretan bull*

##### Old Acquisition

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome; Garrucci states that it was part of the British Museum collection by 1858. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 17mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 19mm; T (bottom layer) 5mm; T (top layer) 1mm. Dalton depicts the piece surrounded by a gilt paper mount, now lost.

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed to the line of the cobalt blue glass medallion; flat obverse, concave reverse. Some of the iconography and almost the entire border have been trimmed away. A number of fine cracks are evident in the

gold-leaf. There are a number of pin prick bubbles in the glass. This object has not been scientifically analysed.

**Description and comment:** In the centre of the field is depicted a scene not identified by either Dalton or Morey. Only very small fragments of what appear to be a single-band circular border remain. Within the field to the right is depicted a bull shown in profile facing left. In contrast to Dalton's description, the bull is reared upon its hind legs, rather than recumbent, with its body facing right and its head raised. Top the left of the field is depicted a short haired and beardless male figure, naked save for a baldric over his left shoulder. His body is quarter turned to the left of the field whilst his head is quarter turned in the opposite direction to face the bull. In his hands the figure holds a cord, apparently attached to the bull. The left arm of the figure and cord has been lost through a chip to the surface. First recognized as such by Garrucci, the scene can be identified here as the mythical episode of Hercules and the Cretan bull, the seventh labour from the twelve labours of Hercules.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 117, pl. XXXI, **no. 602**; Garrucci 1858, p. 71, pl. XXXV.3; 1864, p. 194, pl. XXXV.9; Iozzi 1900, pp. 27-28, pl. VI.2; Leclercq 1923, p. 1849, no. 387, fig. 4543; Morey 1959, p. 55, pl. XXX, **no. 324**; Vopel 1899, p. 97, no. 45. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 55. P&E OA4310

*Jonah under the gourd vine*

Old Acquisition

Cut and incised technique diminutive medallion (c. 360-400 AD) probably from Rome; Garrucci states that it was part of the British Museum collection by 1858. L (of remaining fragment, maximum) 21mm; W (of remaining fragment, maximum) 21mm. The medallion is surrounded by a gilt paper mount.

Fragment; a single medallion from a diminutive medallion studded vessel, the greenish colourless glass vessel wall has been closely trimmed to the line of the cobalt blue glass medallion; convex obverse, concave reverse. Some of border has been trimmed away.

A number of fine cracks are evident in the gold-leaf. The colourless glass was examined using XRF analysis and found to have been decoloured with a mixture of Antimony and Manganese.

**Description and comment:** within the single band circular border, the naked reclining figure of Jonah facing towards the left. He is supported on the ground by his left arm, whilst his right is flung over and behind his head. Above him hang five gourds and the scant indications of the gourd vine.

**References:** Dalton 1901b, p. 123, pl. XXXI, **no. 623**; Garrucci, 1858, p. 13, pl. IV.4; 1864, p. 40, pl. IV.4; 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 132, pl. 174.15; Iozzi 1900, p. 12, pl. I.9; Leclercq 1923, p. 1829, no. 67, fig. 4523; Morey 1959, p. 56, pl. XXX, **no. 331**; Vopel 1899, no. 231. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

#### **56. BM P&E 1847.8-24.2**

Purchased from J. G. P. Fisher

Fake brushed technique style portrait medallion (c. eighteenth or early nineteenth century), said to have been found in Italy, near to 'Lake Pesugia'. D (of medallion set in oak frame) 86mm

The gold leaf images has been gilded and incised upon a layer of black resin-like substance. This has been overlain by a covering disc of colourless glass. The colourless glass is greatly discoloured, and an attempt has been made to clean it in order to make the image more visible when viewed through it. The whole was originally set within an oak frame, holding the glass cover and the resin base together. The piece has since been disassembled. Only the resin base-disc is illustrated in this catalogue.

**Description and comment:** Set within a single band circular border, much of which has crumbled away with the edges of the resin-like base-disc is depicted the half-length bust of a single adult male. He is beardless with short hair, and wears an unidentifiable and probably invented costume. At some point during the late nineteenth or early twentieth century the object was displayed. It was accompanied by the object label illustrated in Figure 2, with its accession number written on the back.



**References:** Pillinger 1984, pl. 14, fig. 99. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

### 57. Unregistered

Unknown collection

Fake brushed technique style portrait medallion (c. eighteenth or early nineteenth century), probably from Rome. Yates states that it was part of the British Museum collection by 1851. D (of medallion) 46mm

The gold and silver leaf image has been gilded and incised in retrograde upon the upper covering layer of colourless glass and is sealed at the back with a black resin-like substance. Light iridescence and a few pin-prick bubbles in the glass. The gold leaf has been incised with a significant degree of skill and closely parallels the brushed technique.

**Description and comment:** within the thin, perfectly circular, single line border is depicted the quarter-length bust of a male child. He wears what appears to be a toga above a tunic apparently executed in silver leaf and has a large circular bulla suspended from a band around his neck. To the right of the field, curved in accordance with the circular border and executed in small letters akin to genuine brushed technique medallion is the inscription M CECILIVS.

It is highly probable that the artist who produced this forgery in fact copied a single element, the young boy, from a genuine brushed technique medallion now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (inv. no. 1917.190.109). This genuine gold glass, also known as the Ficoroni Medallion is illustrated in Figure 22. The producer of the British Museum forgery need not and indeed is unlikely to have produced his forgery directly from the original Ficoroni Medallion. The original was illustrated in a published work as early as 1732 (Ficoroni 1732, p. 11) from which a skilled artist could easily have produced the British Museum piece.

**References:** Pillinger 1984, p. 17, pl. 9, fig. 79; Yates 1851, pp. 170-1. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 58. Unregistered

Madame M. Eichwede collection

Fake gold glass vessel base (early nineteenth century decoration); formally in the Borghesi collection, the object entered the British Museum in 1909.

Bottom and tubular base-ring of an antique or Roman glass beaker. The design is cold-painted on discs; each disc is affixed to the bottom of the glass vessel by means of cement, probably in the early nineteenth century. The vessel bowl has been dropped over the foot-ring to cover the double sided cold painted decoration, and simply glued into place, giving the impression that the imagery is indeed fused between two glass layers as upon the original Late Antique pieces. Painted decoration appears on both the inside of the vessel and on the reverse. The glass is broken all around with encrustation and many pin-prick on the front and back surfaces.

**Description and comment:** Within a single band border painted in red is depicted the episode of Jonah and the great fish. In the centre of the field is a sea monster, akin to a whale, with open jaws and large triangular teeth. The body of the sea monster is rendered in gold, its eye and teeth in white, and the inside of its mouth in red. From out of its mouth protrudes the bearded and nimbed figure of Jonah, his arms and head rendered in white, his plain nimbus and body in gold. The sky above the sea monster is painted in light greyish blue, whilst the sea is coloured in greenish grey. On the reverse within a circular single band border painted in blue. Positioned horizontally over three lines is the unintelligible inscription INDT/NVMI/NEA. The letters M and A are of a peculiar, probably imaginary formation.

**References:** Pillinger 1984, pp. 19-20, pl. 2, figs. 7 & 8. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 59. Unregistered

Madame M. Eichwede collection

Fake gold glass vessel base (early nineteenth century decoration); formally in the Borghesi collection, the object entered the British Museum in 1909.

Bottom and tubular base-ring of an antique or Roman glass beaker. The design is cold-painted on discs; each disc is affixed to the bottom of the glass vessel by means of cement, probably in the early nineteenth century. The low but wide foot-ring and the base have been simply glued into place, giving the impression that the imagery is indeed fused between two glass layers as upon the original Late Antique pieces. The glass is broken all around with encrustation on the front and particularly the back surfaces. The area of glass overlaying the image is discoloured, partially inhibiting the view of the image. There is a pontil mark on the reverse in the middle of the foot-ring. There are many pin-prick bubbles in the glass.

**Description and comment:** Within the broadly circular red braided and inner yellow band border is depicted Saint Christopher carrying the Christ on his shoulders. Saint Christopher is depicted as an aged man, bearded and balding with long hair at his back. The details are picked out in black paint on a colourless background. He emerges from a lake or river, on the far bank of which is depicted trees, rendered in green paint. Painted in gold, he wears a girdled robe fastened over his left shoulder exposing his right arm and chest. In his left hand he holds a staff, possibly painted in brown, whilst on his right shoulder, supported by his right hand, is the Christ child. Christ wears gold painted tunic akin to Saint Christopher, and has a gold painted cross nimbus. His left hand is raised whilst in his right he holds an orb, rendered in gold.

**References:** Unpublished. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 60. Unregistered

Madame M. Eichwede collection

Fake gold glass vessel base (early nineteenth century decoration); formally in the Borghesi collection, the object entered the British Museum in 1909.

Bottom and tubular base-ring of an antique or Roman glass beaker. The design is cold-painted on discs; each disc is affixed to the bottom of the glass vessel by means of cement, probably in the early nineteenth century. The low but wide foot-ring and the base have been simply glued into place, giving the impression that the imagery is

indeed fused between two glass layers as upon the original Late Antique pieces. The glass is broken all around with encrustation on the front and particularly the back surfaces. The area of glass overlaying the image is heavily discoloured, largely inhibiting the view of the image. There is a pontil mark on the reverse in the middle of the foot-ring. There are many pin-prick bubbles in the glass.

**Description and comment:** The field is enclosed by a double band circular border, each band rendered in yellowish green, containing a half circle pattern in consisting of black painted lines. In the centre of the field is depicted Christ, bearded and with long hair, seated in majesty with his right hand raised. His clothing (the exact garment is unintelligible) is painted in gold, as is his cross nimbus.

**References:** Unpublished. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 61. Unregistered

Presented by N. H. J. Westlake

Experimental gold sandwich glass produced in 1901, accompanied by a hand-written note stating that the piece is 'not to be registered' (Figure 4).

Flat plate of broken roughly shaped dark blue glass overlain by a smaller rectangular plate of flat colourless glass sandwiching a piece of partially damaged gold leaf between the two. The two layers are joined by means of a flux at the edges. The manufacturing process employed by Westlake is noted by Dalton (1901a, p. 252).

**Description and comment:** On the gold leaf background is lightly incised the profile bust of a woman facing towards the right of the field. Her hair is tied in a bun on her head. At some point during the late nineteenth or early twentieth century the object was displayed. It was accompanied by the object label illustrated in Figure 3.

**References:** Unregistered. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 62. Unregistered

Presented by N. H. J. Westlake

Experimental gold sandwich glass produced in 1901 accompanied by a hand-written note stating that the piece is 'not to be registered' (Figure 4).

The physical nature of the piece appears to be akin to number **61** above. However, unregistered within the collection the whereabouts of the piece within the museum are unknown. I have thus not been able to examine the object personally. Pillinger's photograph of the piece is presented in this catalogue.

**Description and comment:** On the gold leaf background is lightly incised the profile bust of a woman facing towards the right of the field. Her hair is tied in a bun on her head. At some point during the late nineteenth or early twentieth century the object was displayed. It was accompanied by the object label illustrated in Figure 3.

**References:** Pillinger 1984, pl. 27, fig. 180. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

## 63. Unregistered

Presented by N. H. J. Westlake

Experimental gold sandwich glass produced in 1901, accompanied on the reverse by a hand-written label stating that the piece was produced by NHJ Westlake Esq. F. S. A. 22 IV 1901

Two plates of colourless glass sandwiching between them a sheet of gold leaf, apparently fused together by means of a flux. The surviving object appears to have been broken from a larger piece.

**Description and comment:** The piece preserves the portrait-style depiction of Christ, bearded and with long hair. The image is not cut and incised, but instead the details on the gold leaf are picked out with brown colour lines, akin to medieval stained glass images.

**References:** Pillinger 1984, pl. 27 & 80, fig. 181, fig. 182. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

**64. BM P&E 1898.2-11.1**

Presented by Charles Hercules Read, assistant keeper of antiquities at the British Museum

Two layers of glass. Diminutive medallion studded vessel with large decorated base-disc. The pad base-disc is of translucent green glass has a high tubular foot-ring; the upper vessel bowl layer is of colourless glass. The diminutive medallions are all of translucent green glass. A sketch of the object in the British Museum acquisitions register shows the piece to have been already damaged and repaired (but with a large chunk missing from the upper edge) when it was acquired. The object is now in eleven separate pieces, two of which consist of three and two repaired fragments respectively. The glass is slightly discoloured in places with many pin-prick bubbles.

**Description and comment:** The iconography of the vessel appears to be based on the St Severin bowl in the British Museum collection (39). The base disc is decorated with the Lamb of God, facing to the right of the field, enclosed by a thick single line circular border embellished with incised ovals. The wall of the vessel incorporates a concentric circle of six large medallions interspaced with six smaller ones. The smaller medallions all depict star-shaped leaf sprays. Pillinger (1984, p. 17), followed by Rudoe (2003, p. 217), notes that this is an invariable feature of Venetian copies of Late Antique gold glasses. Interestingly, however, the bands upon the glass echo the two parallel wheel cut lines in the same position upon the St Severin bowl itself.

The six larger medallions each reproduce single medallions from the St Severin bowl. These appear to have been randomly selected, and no one biblical episode from the original vessel is depicted in its entirety. From left to right they depict a single lion, from the episode of Daniel in the den of lions, Susanna, from the episode of Susanna and the elders, Jonah swallowed by the great fish, one of the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, Jonah cast forth from the belly of the great fish, and the boat and great fish prepared by the Lord from the story of Jonah. The rim of the vessel is decorated by a double thread of translucent green glass.

**References:** Pillinger 1984, pl. 30, fig. 232; Rudoe 2003, pp. 216-7, pl. 12.2. Exhibited: NOT EXHIBITED

**65. BM P&E 1998.2-3.1**

Purchased by the British Museum; formally in the collection of Sir John Pender and acquired by him at the Paris exhibition of 1878. H (of vessel) 197mm; D (of vessel mouth) 121mm

Cut and incised gilt green-glass goblet. The shape of the vessel and the translucent dark green glass copies a type of Venetian marriage goblet of the fifteenth century (e.g. Tait 1979, no. 21). The vessel remains intact and with no damage or weathering to the gold leaf or to the glass.

**Description and comment:** The upper portion of the vessel is decorated with an elaborate scale pattern, further embellished with over-painted enamel dots in white, red, blue and green. The rim of the vessel incorporates six roundels, each illustrating the portrait-style depiction of a saint. Each saint is depicted as a quarter-length bust, wearing a tunic and pallium of 'omophorion' type based on the costume worn by saints on Late Antique cut and incised technique gold glasses. Their heads are depicted in profile. The saints are arranged in three facing pairs, each accompanied by an identifying name label (CIPRIANVS & TIMOTEUS, EPOLITUS & SVSTVS, LAVRENTIVS & IVLIVS respectively). Each saint appears on Late Antique cut and incised technique gold glass vessel bases illustrated by Garrucci (1858; 1864; 1872-1880).

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## Colour photographs

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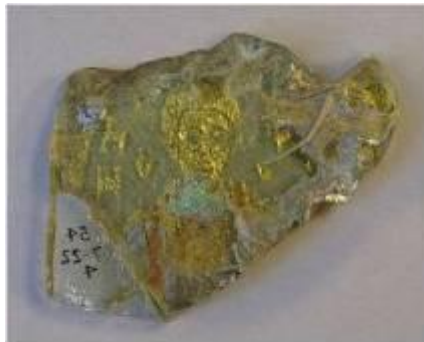
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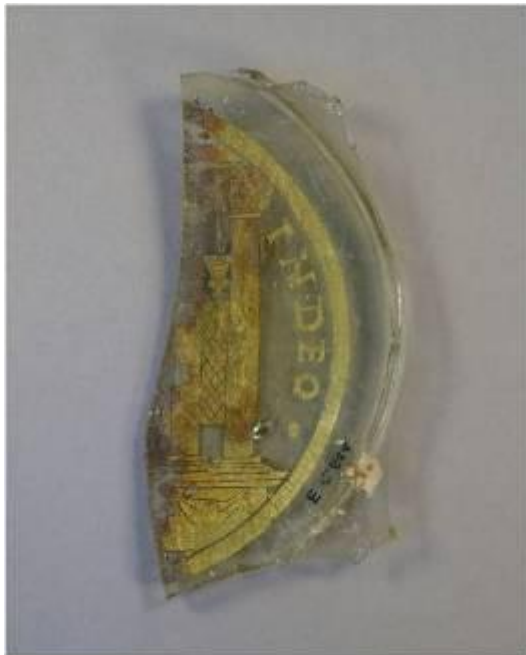


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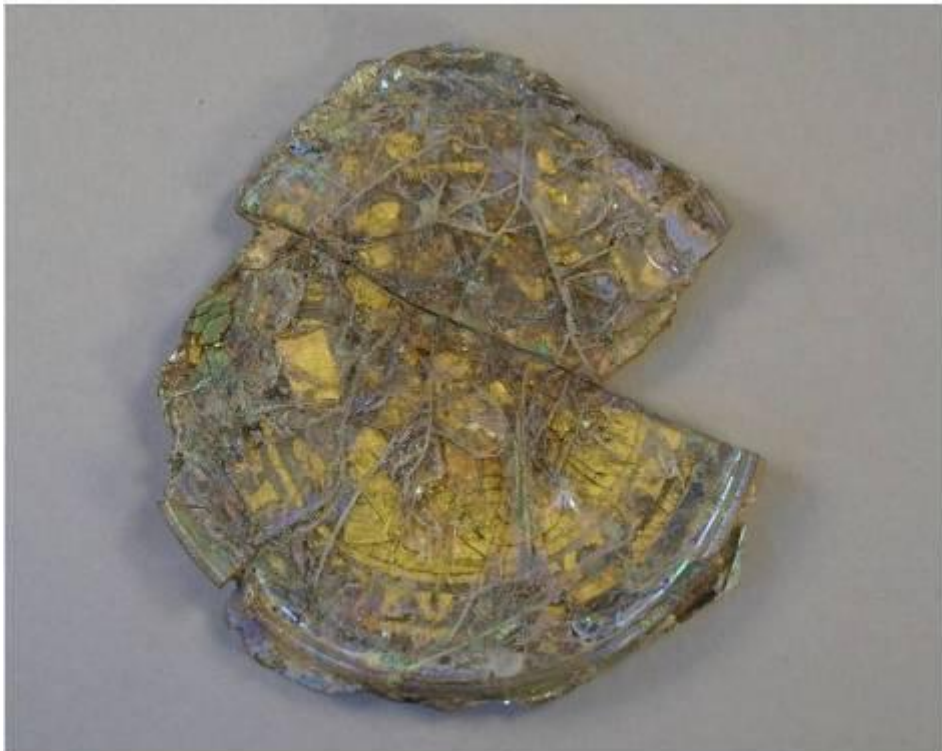
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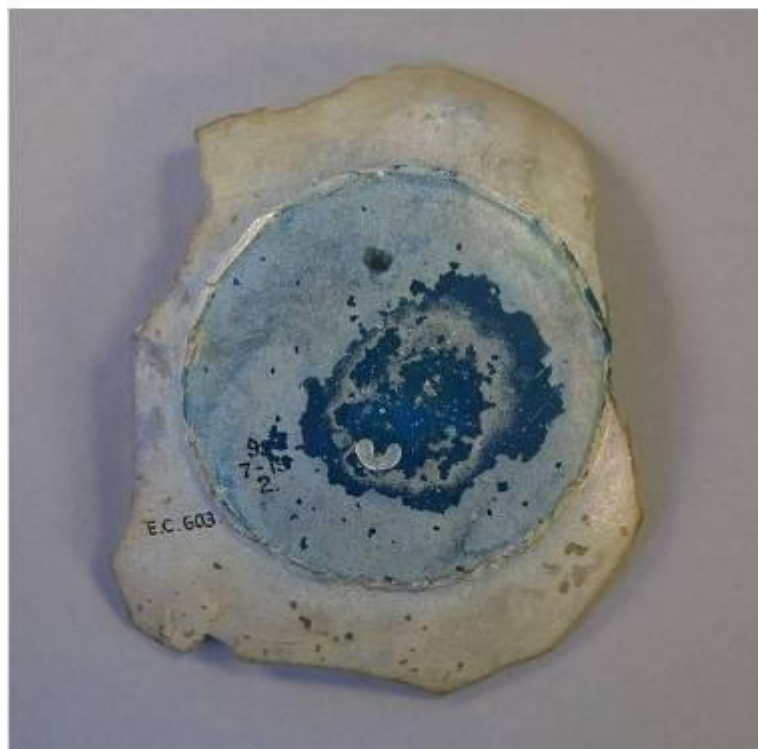
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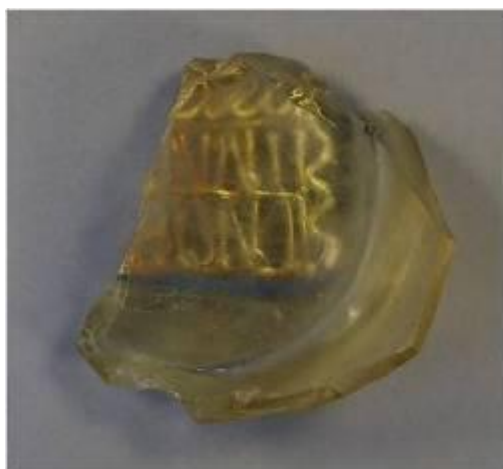
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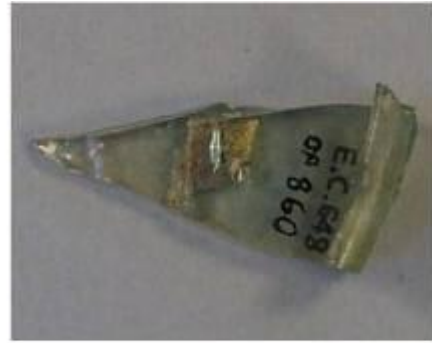
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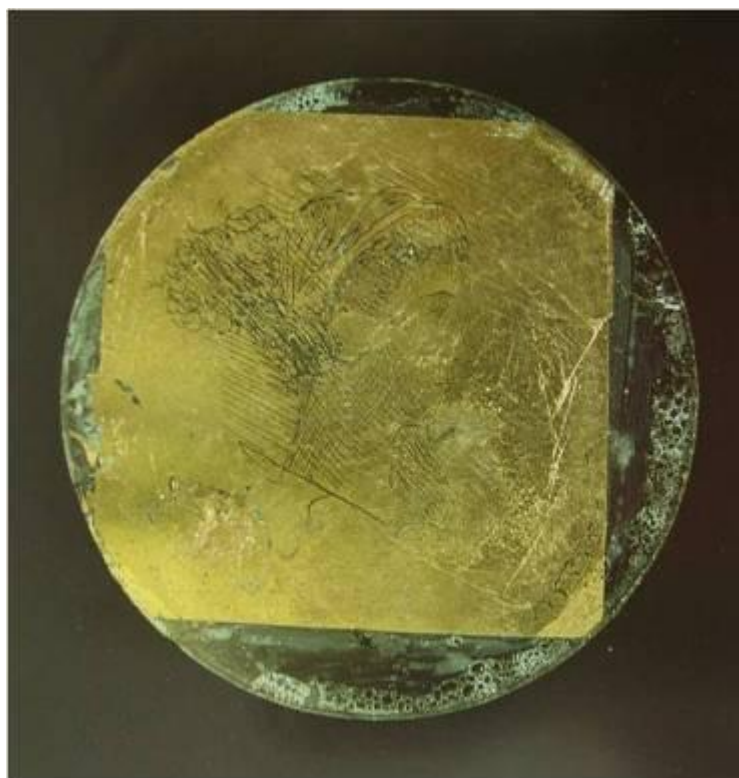


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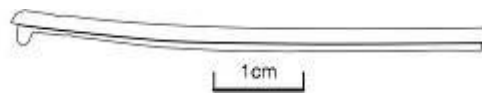
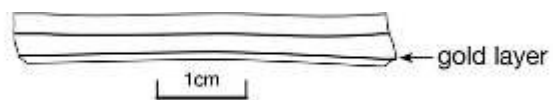
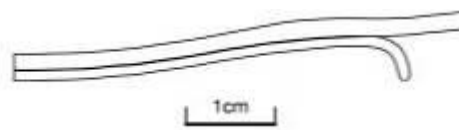
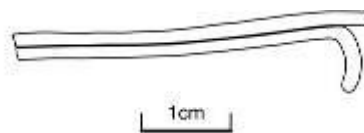
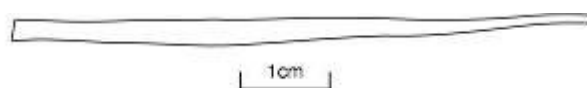


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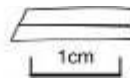




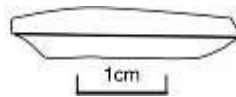
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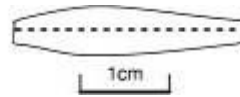
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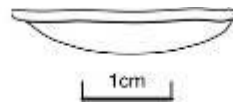
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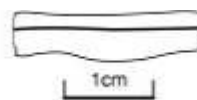
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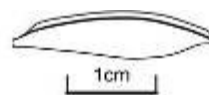
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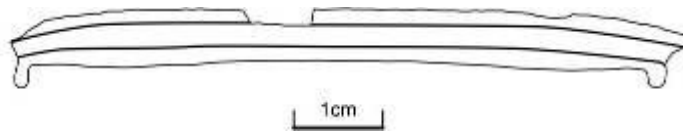


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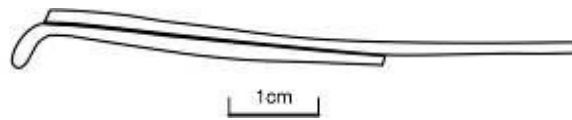


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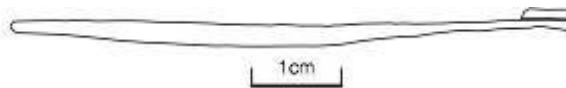
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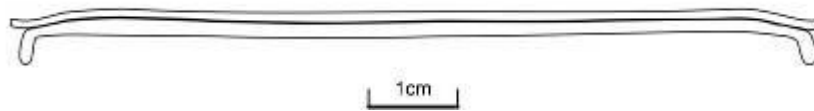
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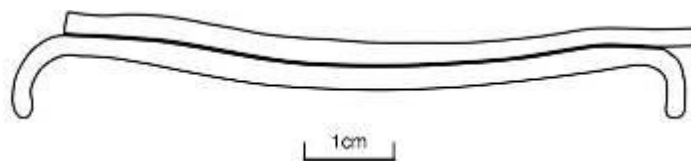
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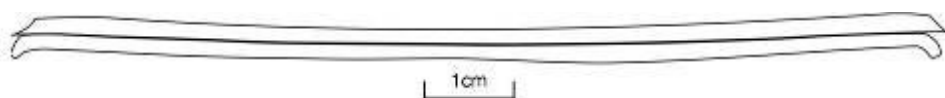
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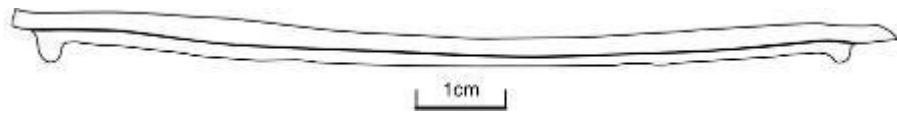


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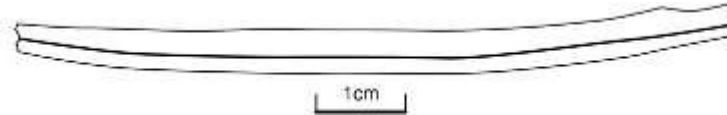


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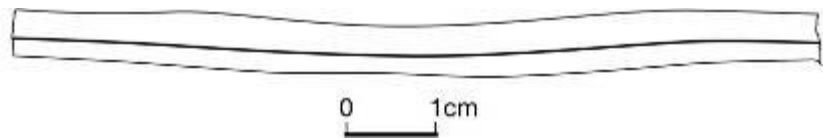
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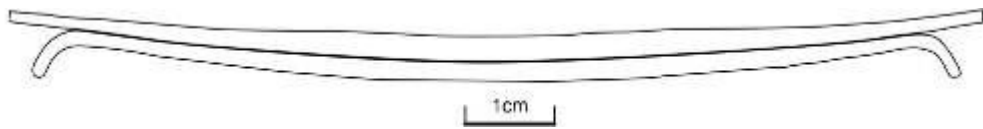
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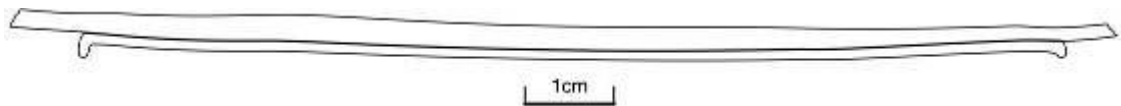
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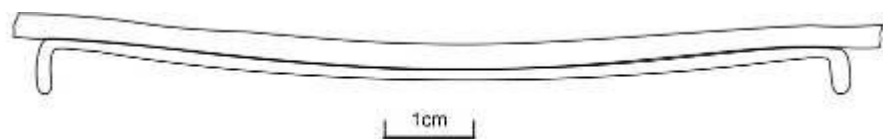
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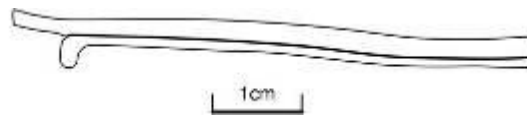


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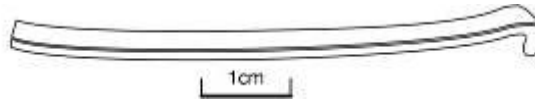


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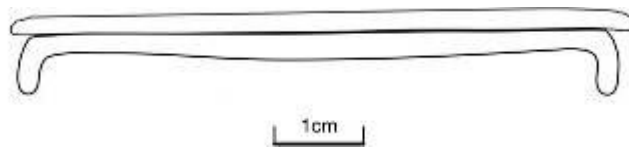
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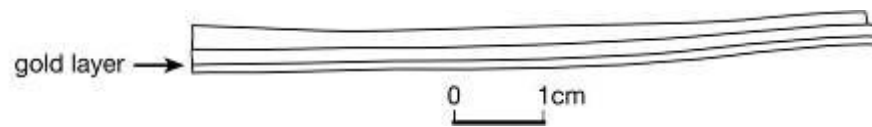
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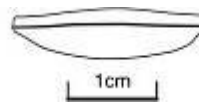
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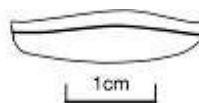
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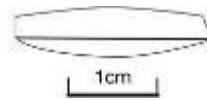


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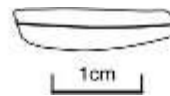


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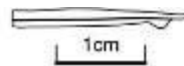
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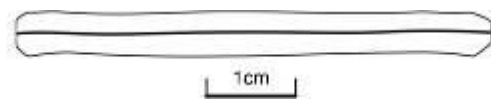
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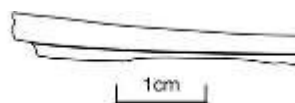
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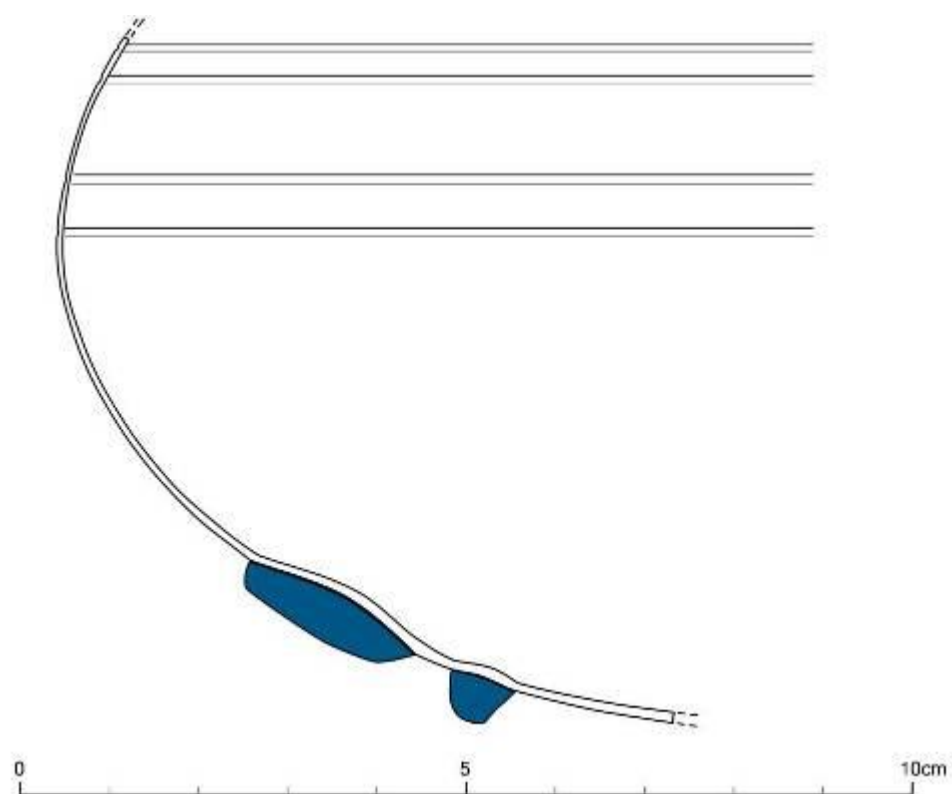
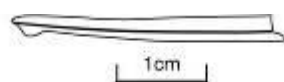
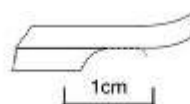
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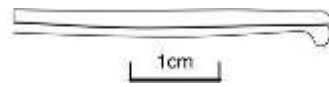




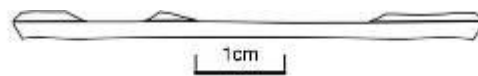
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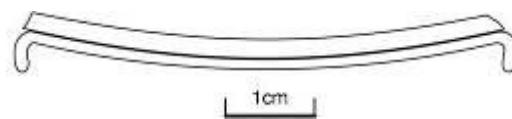
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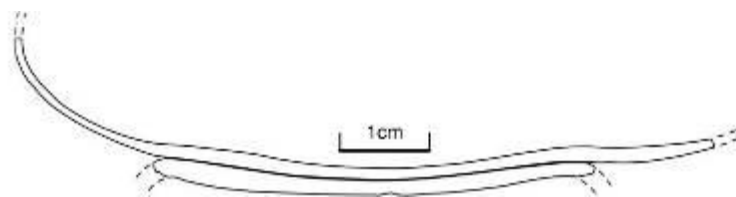
44



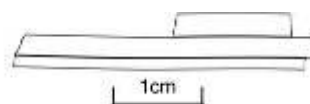
45



46

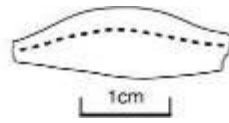


47

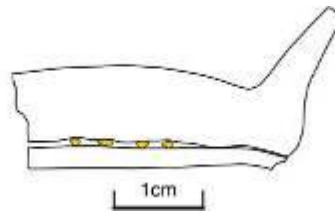


458

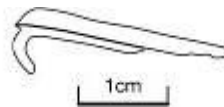
**48**



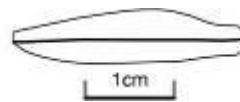
**49**



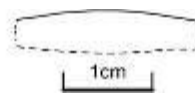
**50**



**53**



**55**



## **Appendix 2: distribution of gold glass find-spots and associated contexts: tabulated data**

A total of 108 gold glasses with a recorded provenance and associated context details have been identified as the result of a detailed literature review carried out as part of this project. Of these, three constitute brushed technique portrait medallions; three take the form of gilt-glass trail vessels, and 102 constitute cut and incised technique gold glasses. The distribution of reported gold glass find-spots is presented in Figure 74 in the main thesis text. The data is tabulated below according to gold glass subtype. Glasses have been included regardless of whether their reported find-spot occurs in the accounts of early antiquarians or from the publications of more rigorously controlled archaeological excavation and subterranean explorations. As such, the contextual data available for each piece is highly variable. The references provided are not meant to be exhaustive and only incorporate key publications dealing with the context and find-spots of each piece. Whenever possible, museum inventory or published catalogue numbers are provided for each piece to aid identification.

### **Brushed technique portrait medallions**

Three brushed technique portrait medallions have reported find-spots, all of them from Rome (illustrated by the open circle in Figure 74 in the main thesis text).

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (1)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Panfilo	Still in situ in the sealing plaster of a loculi	Morey 1959, p. 40, pl. XXIV, no. 222	Ladner 1941, pp. 19 & 36, fig. 5, no. 27
<b>74.1 (3)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus, apparently found in 1878	Removed from the sealing plaster of a loculus	Vatican Museum inv. no. 700 (ex-469); Morey 1959, p. 1, pl. I, no. 3	Albizzati 1914, pp. 242-7; Leclercq 1923, pp. 1850-1, no. 417

***Brushed technique portrait medallions (continued)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.1 (3)</b>	Caelian Hill	Reportedly from ruins on Monte Celio	Possibly the piece now in the Victoria & Albert Museum (London), inv. no. 1052-1868 (Figure 33 in the main thesis text)	Ficoroni 1732, p. 12

The majority of other brushed technique portrait medallions without provenance, but either held in the Vatican Museum or purchased in Rome (e.g. the British Museum example no. **44**) may also have been found in the city or its environs, increasing the number of pieces from this location.

**Gilt-glass trail technique vessels**

Illustrated by the open downturned triangles in Figure 74 gilt-glass trail vessels have been reported from three individual locations, notably Ostia (near Rome, Italy), Budapest (Hungary), and Aljustrel (Portugal). One example has been recovered from each site.

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.2 (1)</b>	Budapest (Aquincum, Hungary)	Complete vessel, found in the piping system of the Legate's Palace	Aquincumi Muzeum (Budapest); Filippini 1995, p. 119, no. 3	Barkóczy 1988, no. 26; Kaba 1958, p. 438
<b>74.3 (1)</b>	Ostia (Italy)	Filippini states only that the piece was 'found in Ostia'	Ostia antica (Rome), Museo Archeologico inv. no. 5530; Morey 1959, p. 41, pl. XXV, no. 230	Filippini 1995, p. 123, no. 10
<b>74.4 (1)</b>	Aljustrel (Portugal)	Complete vessel, from an inhumation	Musée de la Société Anonyme Belge des Mines; Filippini 1995, p. 119, no. 1	Alarcão 1968

In addition, Filippini noted that gild-glass trail vessels in museums in Rome, Aquileia (Italy) and Ptuj (Slovenia) were probably found in these localities.

### **Cut and incised technique gold glasses (vessel bases, plaques, diminutive medallions & Kantharoi)**

The distribution of cut and incised technique gold glass is far wider than previously thought. Illustrated by the black circles in Figure 74, cut and incised technique vessel bases, plaques, diminutive medallions and kantharoi have been reported throughout the western empire. In total, 102 separate finds have been reported. The vast majority of recorded finds, however, have been made in the catacombs of Rome. Numerous gold glasses have been reported from the catacombs of Saints Agnes, Callistus, Commodilla, Domitilla, Hermes, Maximus, Peter and Marcellinus, Pontianus, Priscilla, Novatianus and Panfilo. The cut and incised technique gold glasses from each catacomb are tabulated separately below. Gold glasses from the environs of Rome outside of the catacombs are tabulated next, followed by examples from Cologne and elsewhere in Europe in the order that the find-spots are numbered in Figure 74.

#### ***Catacomb of Saint Agnes***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (1)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Agnes	Fragment, removed from the sealing plaster of a locus	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown	Armellini 1880, pp. 225-7, pl. IX.1; Leclercq 1923, p. 1842, no. 290
<b>74.1 (2)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Agnes	Fragment, still in situ in the sealing plaster of a locus according to Smith 2000, p. 339, no. 2	<i>Vessel base</i> Morey 1959, p. 41, no. 228	Armellini 1880, p. 293, pl. IX.3; Leclercq 1923, p. 1851, no. 424

***Catacomb of Saint Agnes (continued)***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (3)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Agnes	Fragment, apparently from inside a small lamp placed inside a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown	Armellini 1880, pp. 245-6, pl. IX.4; Leclercq 1923, p. 1843, no. 295
<b>74.1 (4)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Agnes	Fragment, apparently found inside a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown	Armellini 1880, pp. 296-7, pl. IX.4; Leclercq 1923, p. 1843, no. 296
<b>74.1 (5)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Agnes	Fragment, removed from the sealing plaster of a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown	Armellini 1880, pp. 313, pl. IX.2; Leclercq 1923, p. 1856, no. 485
<b>74.1 (6)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Agnes	Fragment, found loose in the dirt on the floor	<i>Vessel base</i> Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia inv. no. 26	Fasola 1974, p. 199, fig. 10; Salvetti 1978, pp. 129-30, fig. 15
<b>74.1 (7)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Agnes, apparently found in 1716	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 746 (ex-464); Morey 1959, p. 5, pl. III, no. 14	Boldetti 1720, p. 212.2; Leclercq 1923, p. 1830, no. 70
<b>74.1 (8)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Agnes	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 73-4, pl. IX.6	Leclercq 1923, p. 1838, no. 211

***Catacomb of Saint Agnes (continued)***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (9)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Agnes, apparently found in 1698	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> According to Buonarruoti, the glass disintegrated a few days after its discovery	Buonarruoti 1716, p. 216, pl. XXX, Leclercq 1923, p. 1850, no. 407

***Catacomb of Saint Callistus***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (10)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Fragment, removed from the sealing plaster of a locus	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 610 (ex-476); Morey 1959, p. 35, pl. XXII, no. 184	Leclercq 1923, p. 1846, no. 358
<b>74.1 (11)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 744 (ex-192); Morey 1959, p. 7, pl. III, no. 21	Boldetti 1720, p. 194.1; Vopel 1899, pp. 9, 81, no. 5
<b>74.1 (12)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Fragment, removed from the sealing plaster of a locus	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 793 (ex-0019 & 0391); Morey 1959, p. 16, pl. X, no. 64	De Rossi 1864, p. 81; 1864-77, vol. 3, p. 171, pl. XVII.2
<b>74.1 (13)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Fragment, removed from the sealing plaster of a locus	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 617 (ex-760); Morey 1959, p. 35, pl. XXII, no. 176	De Rossi 1864-77, vol. 3, p. 171, pl. XVII.3; Vopel 1899, p. 9, 12, no. 365



*Catacomb of Saint Callistus (continued)*

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.1 (14)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Removed from the sealing plaster of a loculus, apparently as a whole vessel	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 221, pl. XXXIX.7	Boldetti 1720, p. 191.1
<b>74.1 (15)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 106, pl. XVII.6	Boldetti 1720, quoted in Garrucci 1864, p. 106, pl. XVII.6
<b>74.1 (16)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 221, pl. XXXIX.9	Boldetti 1720, p. 194.4
<b>74.1 (17)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 763 (ex-473); Morey 1959, p. 17, pl. XI, no. 70	Boldetti 1720, p. 189, 192.2; Garrucci 1864, p. 103, pl. XVI.5
<b>74.1 (18)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; possibly Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) inv. no. 1916.174.3, Morey 1959, p. 74, pl. XXXVI, no. 455	Boldetti 1720, p. 194.2; Garrucci 1864, p. 92, pl. XI.3
<b>17.1 (19)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Removed from the sealing plaster of a loculus, apparently as a whole vessel	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 136-7, pl. XXII.5	Boldetti 1720, p. 194-5, illustrated on p. 194.3

***Catacomb of Saint Callistus (continued)***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>17.1 (20)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus, apparently found in 1715	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) inv. no. 1916.174.2; Morey 1959, p. 72-3, pl. XXXVI, no. 448	Boldetti 1720, p. 127, 196-7, illustrated on p. 197.1; Garrucci 1864, p. 1, pl. 1.1
<b>17.1 (21)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus, apparently found in 1723	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 155-6, pl. XXVIII.4	Leclercq 1923, pp. 1854-55, no. 462
<b>17.1 (22)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus or possibly Praetextatus, apparently found in 1718	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 168-170, pl. XXXIII.1	Boldetti 1720, p. 211-12, illustrated on p. 212.3; Leclercq 1923, p. 1849, no. 397
<b>17.1 (23)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Callistus	Illegible fragment fixed into the plaster of a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown	De Rossi 1864-77, vol. 3, p. 173; Leclercq 1923, p. 144, no. 322

***Catacomb of Saint Commodilla***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (24)</b>	Catacomb of Saint Commodilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 606 (ex-467); Morey 1959, p. 28, pl. XX, no. 118	Bagatti 1936, p. 58

In her unpublished PhD thesis, Smith (2000, pp. 350-1) assumed that the gold glass reported by Bagatti as depicting the Good Shepherd and having come from the Catacomb of Commodilla (Bagatti 1936, p. 58) was the same as Vatican Museum inv. no. 606 (ex-467). This was on the basis that inventory number 606 (ex-467) is the only gold glass to depict the Good Shepherd in the Vatican Museum collection that does not have a bibliography dating back to the nineteenth century. Indeed, Smith noted that other material from the published by Bagatti as being from the Catacomb of Commodilla and later removed to the Vatican Museum was similarly not labelled with its original provenance (e.g. compare Bagatti 1936, p. 66, fig. 54 with Morey 1936, no. A27).

#### ***Catacomb of Saint Domitilla***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (25)</b>	Catacomb of Domitilla, apparently found in December 1880	Fragment, none given	<i>Diminutive medallion</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 661 (ex-0020); Morey 1959, p. 29, pl. XXI, no. 129	Morey 1959, p. 29, pl. XXI, no. 129
<b>74.1 (26)</b>	Catacomb of Domitilla	Fragment, according to Vopel it was still in situ in the sealing plaster of a locus in 1899	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown	Vopel 1899, no. 25, Leclercq 1923, p. 1847, no. 366
<b>74.1 (27)</b>	Catacomb of Domitilla	Fragment, removed from the sealing plaster of a locus	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 598 (ex-744); Morey 1959, p. 7, pl. IV, no. 24	Vopel 1899, no. 7; Leclercq 1923, p. 1846, no. 347

***Catacomb of Saint Hermes***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (28)</b>	Catacomb of Hermes	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 626 (ex-766); Morey 1959, p. 28, pl. XX, no. 122	Bonavenia 1894, p. 141; Leclercq 1923, p. 1841, no. 264
<b>74.1 (29)</b>	Catacomb of Hermes	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown	Bonavenia 1894, p. 141; Leclercq 1923, p. 1857, no. 505

***Catacomb of Saint Maximus (St. Felicita, Via Salaria)***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (30)</b>	Catacomb of Maximus, apparently in 1886	Fragment, none given	<i>Diminutive medallion</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 627 (ex-769); Morey 1959, p. 34, pl. XXI, no. 166	Morey 1959, p. 34, pl. XXI, no. 166; Vopel 1899, no. 290

***Catacomb of Saint Novatianus***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (31)</b>	Catacomb of Novatianus, found during excavation in February 1929	Fragment, embedded in plaster originally attached to a terracotta slab, Morey says 'now removed'	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 622 (ex-2111); Morey 1959, p. 24, pl. XVII, no. 99	Filippini 2000, p. 127, no. 1

***Catacomb of Saint Novatianus (continued)***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (32)</b>	Catacomb of Novatianus, found during excavation in 1929	Fragment, embedded in plaster removed from the catacomb	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 623 (ex-2110); Morey 1959, p. 25, pl. XVII, no. 103	Filippini 2000, pp. 127-8 no. 2
<b>74.1 (33)</b>	Catacomb of Novatianus, found in during excavation in April 1929	Fragment, found mixed with discharged earth (spoil)	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 690 & 727 (ex-2112); Morey 1959, p. 13, pl. VIII, no. 51	Filippini 2000, p. 128 no. 3
<b>74.1 (34)</b>	Catacomb of Novatianus, found in during excavation in April 1932	Fragment, still in situ in the sealing plaster of a loculus	<i>Uncertain</i> Morey 1959, p. 40, pl. XXV, no. 227	Josi 1934, p. 206; Filippini 2000, pp. 128-9 no. 4
<b>74.1 (35)</b>	Catacomb of Novatianus,	Fragment, still in situ in the sealing plaster of a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Morey 1959, p. 41, pl. XXV, no. 226	Josi 1934, pp. 206-7; Filippini 2000, p. 128 no. 5
<b>74.1 (36)</b>	Catacomb of Novatianus,	Fragment, still in situ in the sealing plaster of a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Filippini 2000, pp. 129-30 no. 6	Filippini 2000, pp. 129-30 no. 6

***Catacomb of Saint Panfilo***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (37)</b>	Catacomb of Panfilo	Fragment, still in situ in the sealing plaster of a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Morey 1959, p. 39, pl. XXIV, no. 220	Morey 1959, p. 39, pl. XXIV, no. 220
<b>74.1 (38)</b>	Catacomb of Panfilo	Fragment, still in situ in the sealing plaster of a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Morey 1959, p. 39, pl. XXIV, no. 221	Morey 1959, p. 39, pl. XXIV, no. 221

***Catacomb of Saint Panfilo (continued)***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (39)</b>	Catacomb of Panfilo	Fragment, still in situ in the sealing plaster of a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Morey 1959, p. 40, pl. XXIV, no. 223	Morey 1959, p. 34, pl. XXIV, no. 223
<b>74.1 (40)</b>	Catacomb of Panfilo	Fragment, still in situ in the sealing plaster of a loculus	<i>Gilt plaque (?)</i> Morey 1959, p. 40, pl. XXIV, no. 224	Morey 1959, p. 34, pl. XXIV, no. 224
<b>74.1 (41)</b>	Catacomb of Panfilo	Fragment, still in situ in the sealing plaster of a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Morey 1959, p. 40, pl. XXIV, no. 225	Morey 1959, p. 34, pl. XXIV, no. 225

***Catacomb of Saint Peter and Marcellinus***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (42)</b>	Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus, found in 1882	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 608 (ex-479); Morey 1959, p. 27, pl. XX, no. 116	De Rossi 1882, p. 121, pl. VII.1; Leclercq 1923, p. 1857, no. 504
<b>74.1 (43)</b>	Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 704 (ex-2592); Morey 1959, p. 4, pl. I, no. 8	Morey 1959, p. 4, pl. I, no. 8
<b>74.1 (44)</b>	Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus	Fragment, none given	<i>Diminutive medallion</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 664 (ex-2570); Morey 1959, p. 32, pl. XXI, no. 155	Morey 1959, p. 4, pl. I, no. 8

***Catacomb of Saint Pontianus***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (45)</b>	Catacomb of Pontianus, apparently found in 1688	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 731 (ex-357); Morey 1959, p. 9, pl. VI, no. 34	Buonarruoti 1716, p. 71, pl. IX.4; Leclercq 1923, p. 1856-7, no. 493
<b>74.1 (46)</b>	Catacomb of Pontianus, apparently found in 1687	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 131, pl. XXI.3	Fabretti 1702, p. 563; Leclercq 1923, p. 1838, no. 214

***Catacomb of Saint Praetextatus (or Sixtus)***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.1 (47)</b>	Catacomb of Praetextatus, apparently found in 1849	Fragment, removed from the sealing plaster of a loculus	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 104, pl. XVI.9	Perret 1851-55, vol. 4, p. 122, pl. XXIII.21; Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 156, pl. 185.9; Leclercq 1923, p. 1841, no. 270

In 1851 Perret stated that the same glass was found in the Catacomb of Saint Sixtus (Perret 1851-55, vol. 4, p. 122). However, Garrucci later noted that the object was found in the Catacomb of Saint Praetextatus (Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 156, pl. 185.9). Leclercq, possibly following Garrucci, also states that the piece was found in the Catacomb of Saint Praetextatus (Leclercq 1923, p. 1841, no. 270). The current location of the glass is unknown; however, in 1876 Garrucci noted that it was in the Vatican Museum (Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 156, pl. 185.9).

**Catacomb of Saint Priscilla**

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>17.1 (48)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla, apparently found in 1907	Fragment, Morey reproduces a handwritten note accompanying the object	<i>Vessel base</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 619 (ex-771); Morey 1959, p. 17, pl. XI, no. 68	Morey 1959, p. 17, pl. XI, no. 68
<b>17.1 (49)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 106, pl. XVII.7	Boldetti 1720, p. 211-12, Leclercq 1923, p. 1838, no. 219
<b>17.1 (50)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla, apparently found in 1766 (according to Leclercq & Garrucci)	Fragment, Morey reproduces an inscribed copper-gilt case with inscription accompanying the object	<i>Diminutive medallion</i> Vatican Museum inv. no. 672 (ex-481); Morey 1959, pp. 31-2, pl. XXI, no. 150	Morey 1959, pp. 31-2, pl. XXI, no. 150; Garrucci 1864, p. 41, pl. IV.9; Leclercq 1923, p. 1829, no. 46
<b>17.1 (51)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Diminutive medallion</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1864, p. 66, pl. VII.15	Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. IX; Leclercq 1923, p. 1832, no. 117
<b>17.1 (52)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Diminutive medallion</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1872-80, p. 133, pl. 174.6	Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. VIII
<b>17.1 (53)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Diminutive medallion</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1872-80, p. 133, pl. 174.7	Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. X



**Catacomb of Saint Priscilla (continued)**

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>17.1 (54)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) inv. no. 18.145.3; Morey 1959, p. 75, pl. XXXVI, no. 460	Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. I
<b>17.1 (55)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) inv. no. 18.145.5; Morey 1959, p. 72, pl. XXXVI, no. 446	Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. II
<b>17.1 (56)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) inv. no. 18.145.6; Morey 1959, p. 74, pl. XXXVI, no. 459	Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. VI
<b>17.1 (57)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) inv. no. 18.145.2; Morey 1959, p. 73, pl. XXXVI, no. 449	Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. V
<b>17.1 (58)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Museo Nazionale, Florence inv. no. 34; Morey 1959, p. 46, pl. XXVI, no. 259	Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. IV
<b>17.1 (59)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Museo Nazionale, Florence inv. no. 32; Morey 1959, p. 43, pl. XXVI, no. 240	Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. X

***Catacomb of Saint Priscilla (continued)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.1 (60)</b>	Catacomb of Priscilla	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, pl. 198.3, who noted it as being in the Vatican Museum	Bosio 1632-4, p. 509, no. III

In addition to these pieces with a recorded catacomb provenance, Morey (1959) illustrates numbers 11, 42, 68, 122, 170 and 199 (all of them vessel bases) as being in the Vatican Museum, and in each instance being still attached to a block of plaster. This suggests that all six pieces were removed from Roman catacombs. Morey illustrates a further piece taking the form of a diminutive medallion (no. 294) as embedded in plaster in the Museo Nazionale in Naples. This piece may also have been removed from a catacomb in Rome; however, it is also possible that it was recovered from a catacomb in Naples.

***Environs of Rome other than the catacombs***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>17.1 (61)</b>	Environs of Rome; Via Portuensis	Fragment; apparently in a tomb	<i>Diminutive Medallion</i> Current location unknown; Vopel 1899, no. 281; apparently purchased by an Englishman	Leclercq 1923, p. 1832, no. 118

*Environs of Rome other than the catacombs (continued)*

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>17.1 (62)</b>	Environs of Rome; Church of St. Eusebius	Fragment, apparently in the garden of the Church	<i>Diminutive Medallion</i> Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 144, pl. 178.12, who noted it as being in the possession of the Prontonotario Apostolico Monsignor Van den Bergke	Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 144, pl. 178.12; Leclercq 1923, p. 1833, no. 126; Vopel 1899, no. 288
<b>17.1 (63)</b>	Environs of Rome; on the Palatine Hill	Fragment apparently next to the so-called stadium	<i>Vessel base</i> Vopel 1899, no. 366	Leclercq 1923, p. 1838, no. 207
<b>17.1 (64)</b>	Environs of Rome; Via Appia	Fragment, apparently in a tomb	<i>Vessel base</i> Vopel 1899, no. 20	Leclercq 1923, p. 1847, no. 360
<b>17.1 (65)</b>	Environs of Rome	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. , pl. 170.2	Vopel 1899, no. 51; Leclercq 1923, p. 1849, no. 393

*Ostia (Italy)*

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.3 (1)</b>	Ostia, apparently found in 1864	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown	Vopel 1899, no. 14; Leclercq 1923, p. 1846, no. 354
<b>74.2 (2)</b>	Ostia, apparently found in 1888	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown	Leclercq 1923, p. 1846, no. 365

**Cologne and its environs (Germany)**

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.5 (1)</b>	Cologne	Broken vessel, from a burial in the cemetery of the Church of St. Severin	<i>Diminutive medallion studded vessel (St Severin bowl)</i> British Museum inv. no. P & E 1881.6-24.1, this thesis Appendix A no. <b>39</b>	Aus'm Weerth 1864, pp. 119-128; see also main thesis text Chapter 9 and this thesis Appendix A no. <b>39</b>
<b>74.5 (2)</b>	Cologne	Fragment, apparently close to St. Severin	<i>Vessel base</i> Römisch-Germanisches Museum (Cologne) inv. no. 352; Morey 1959, p. 69, pl. XXXIV, no. 425	Vopel 1899, no. 397; Leclercq 1923, p. 1839, no. 238
<b>74.5 (3)</b>	Cologne	St. Severin	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Ristow 2007, p. 379	Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 9; Ristow 2007, p. 379
<b>74.5 (4)</b>	Cologne	From a stone cist in the cemetery of St. Ursula	<i>Gilt plaque (the St Ursula bowl)</i> British Museum inv. no. P&E S317, this thesis Appendix A no. <b>36</b>	Düntzer 1867, pp. 168-179, pl. V; see also main thesis text Chapter 9 and this thesis Appendix A no. <b>36</b>
<b>74.5 (5)</b>	Cologne	Complete vessel, from a burial in the cemetery of St. Ursula	<i>Kantharos (the Disch Kantharos)</i> Corning Museum of Glass inv. no. 66.1.267; <i>Glass of the Caesars</i> 1987, pp. 253-4, no. 143	Albizzati 1926; Fremersdorf 1967, p. 210, pl. 282

**Cologne and its environs (continued)**

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.5 (6)</b>	Cologne	Complete vessel, from a burial in the cemetery of St. Ursula	<i>Kantharos (the Schloss-Goluchow Kantharos)</i> Current location unknown; Fremersdorf 1967, pp. 202-3	Fremersdorf 1967, pp. 202-3
<b>74.5 (7)</b>	Cologne	Fragment, from a burial in the cemetery of St. Ursula	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Vopel 1899, no. 103	Vopel 1899, no. 103
<b>74.5 (8)</b>	Cologne	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Vopel 1899, no. 496	Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 9

**Neuss (Germany)**

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.6 (1)</b>	Neuss	None given	<i>Sandwich-glass plaques</i> Vopel 1899, no. 295	Aus'm Weerth 1878, pp. 106-10; Fremersdorf 1967, p. 207-13, figs. 54-8; Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 11

**Zülpich (Germany)**

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.7 (1)</b>	Zülpich	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Vopel 1899, no. 157	Vopel 1899, no. 157; Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 11

**Trier (Germany)**

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.8 (1)</b>	Trier	Fragment, from a the cemetery of St. Matthias	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Ristow 2007, p. 427	Ristow 2007, p. 427; Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 12
<b>74.8 (2)</b>	Trier	Fragment, from a the cemetery of St. Maximin	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 13	Ristow 2007, p. 428-9; Demandt & Engemann 2007, CD-Rom Catalogue no. 1.11.55
<b>74.8 (3)</b>	Trier	Liebfrauenstraße	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 14	Binsfeld 1984, p. 133

**Mehring (Germany)**

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.9 (1)</b>	Mehring	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 15	Demandt & Engemann 2007, CD-Rom Catalogue no. 1.16.42 & 43

**Regensburg (Germany)**

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.10 (1)</b>	Regensburg, apparently found in 1688	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Bayerische Nationalmuseum (Munich) inv. no. G2020; Morey 1959, p. 71, pl. XXXV, no. 438	Ebner 1892, p. 157, pl. 9.1; Vopel 1899, no. 356

**Regensburg (continued)**

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.10 (2)</b>	Regensburg, apparently found in 1688	Fragment, none given	<i>Diminutive medallion</i> Bayerische Nationalmuseum (Munich) inv. no. G2021; Morey 1959, p. 71, pl. XXXV, no. 437	Ebner 1892, p. 157, pl. 9.2; Vopel 1899, no. 428; Leclercq 1923, p. 1841, no. 269

**Augst (Switzerland)**

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.11 (1)</b>	Augst	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 16	Rütti 1990

**Carnuntum (Austria)**

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.12 (1)</b>	Carnuntum	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 18	Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 18
<b>74.12 (2)</b>	Carnuntum	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base (?)</i> Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 19	Kandler 1983

***Dunaújváros (Hungary)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.13 (1)</b>	Dunaújváros	Fragment, from a burial	<i>Vessel base</i> Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Budapest) inv. no. 53.5.1; Barkóczy 1988, p. 217, no. 551	Fülep 1968

***Martigny (Switzerland)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.14 (1)</b>	Martigny, found in 1975	Fragment, from a burial	<i>Vessel base</i> Musée National á Zurich inv. no. 75/264	Wiblé 1980

***Ptuj (Slovenia)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.15 (1)</b>	Ptuj	Fragment, from a burial	<i>Vessel base</i> Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 22	Mikl 1962/1963
<b>74.15 (2)</b>	Ptuj	Fragment, from a burial	<i>Vessel base</i> Nüsse 2007, p. 255, no. 23	Mikl 1962/1963



***Dunaszekesó (Hungary)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.16 (1)</b>	Dunaszekesó	Fragment, from a burial	<i>Vessel base</i> Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Budapest) inv. no. 3.1934; Barkóczy 1988, p. 217, no. 550	Fülep 1968

***Mariana (France)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.17 (1)</b>	Mariana	Fragment, from excavations close to the basilica	<i>Vessel base</i> Lucciana, depot Archéologique de Mariana	Foy & Nenna 2001, p. 219, no. 399
<b>74.17 (2)</b>	Mariana	Fragment, from excavations close to the basilica	<i>Vessel base</i> Lucciana, depot Archéologique de Mariana	Foy & Nenna 2001, p. 219, (note to cat. no. 399)

***Aquileia (Italy)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.18 (1)</b>	Aquileia, found in 1877	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Museo Archeologico di Aquileia inv. no. R. C. 1096; Zanchi Roppo 1969, pp. 9-10, no. 1, fig. 1	Steinbüchel-Rheinwall 1877-8

***Golf de Fos (France)***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.19 (1)</b>	Golf de Fos	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Istres, Musée René Beaucaire inv. no. I.Fos.738.J	Foy & Nenna 2001, p. 219, no. 398

***Prahovo (Serbia)***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.20 (1)</b>	Prahovo	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Demandt & Engemann 2007, CD-Rom Catalogue no. 1.11.52	Demandt & Engemann 2007, CD-Rom Catalogue no. 1.11.52

***Arles (France)***

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Find-spot</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Object reference</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
<b>74.21 (1)</b>	Arles	Fragment, found in a stone urn in the cemetery of Les Alyscamps	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown	De Rossi 1864- 1877, vol. 3. P. 172; Leclercq 1923, p. 1847, no. 369
<b>74.21 (1)</b>	Arles	Fragment, found during excavations of the circus	<i>Plaque</i> Musée de "Arles antique	Formige 1912, pp. 437-8; Foy & Nenna 2001, p. 220, no. 401

***Estagel (France)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.22 (1)</b>	Estagel	Fragment, found within a leather purse accompanying a male inhumation in a Visigoth cemetery	<i>Vessel base</i> Musée des Antiquités Nationales de Saint-Germain-en-Laye	Landes 1988, pp. 195-6, no. 31

***Castiglione della Pescaja (Italy)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.23 (1)</b>	Castiglione della Pescaja	Fragment, none given	<i>Vessel base</i> Current location unknown; Vopel 1899, no. 179	Vopel 1899, no. 179; Leclercq 1923, p. 1827, no. 13

***Castel Gandolfo (Italy)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.24 (1)</b>	Castel Gandolfo	Frgment, from a burial laying next to the deceased accompanied by a coin of Heliogabalus	<i>Diminutive medallion</i> Current location unknown; Garrucci noted that it was in his own collection	Garrucci 1872-1880, vol. 3, p. 42, pl. 177.9; Vopel 1899, no. 267, Leclercq 1923, p. 1832, no. 104

***Sicily (Italy)***

Figure	Find-spot	Context	Object reference	Reference(s)
<b>74.25 (1)</b>	Sicily	Fragment, none given	<i>Diminutive medallion</i> Current location unknown	Dalton 1901, p. 251; D'Orville 1764, p. 123A

In addition to the find-spots recorded above, Landes briefly notes two gold glasses from Autun in France (Landes 1988, p. 196, no. 31, note 1). I have not, however, been able to confirm this report. Furthermore, a single gold glass vessel base and two diminutive medallions have been reported in *Trasparenze Imperiali* (1997, pp. 190 & 213, nos. 189 & 226-6, with associated references) as having been found in Budrovici and Salona in Croatia. All three objects have the appearance of being forgeries, however, and none of them appear to have confirmed find-spots. As such they have not been included in this catalogue.

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